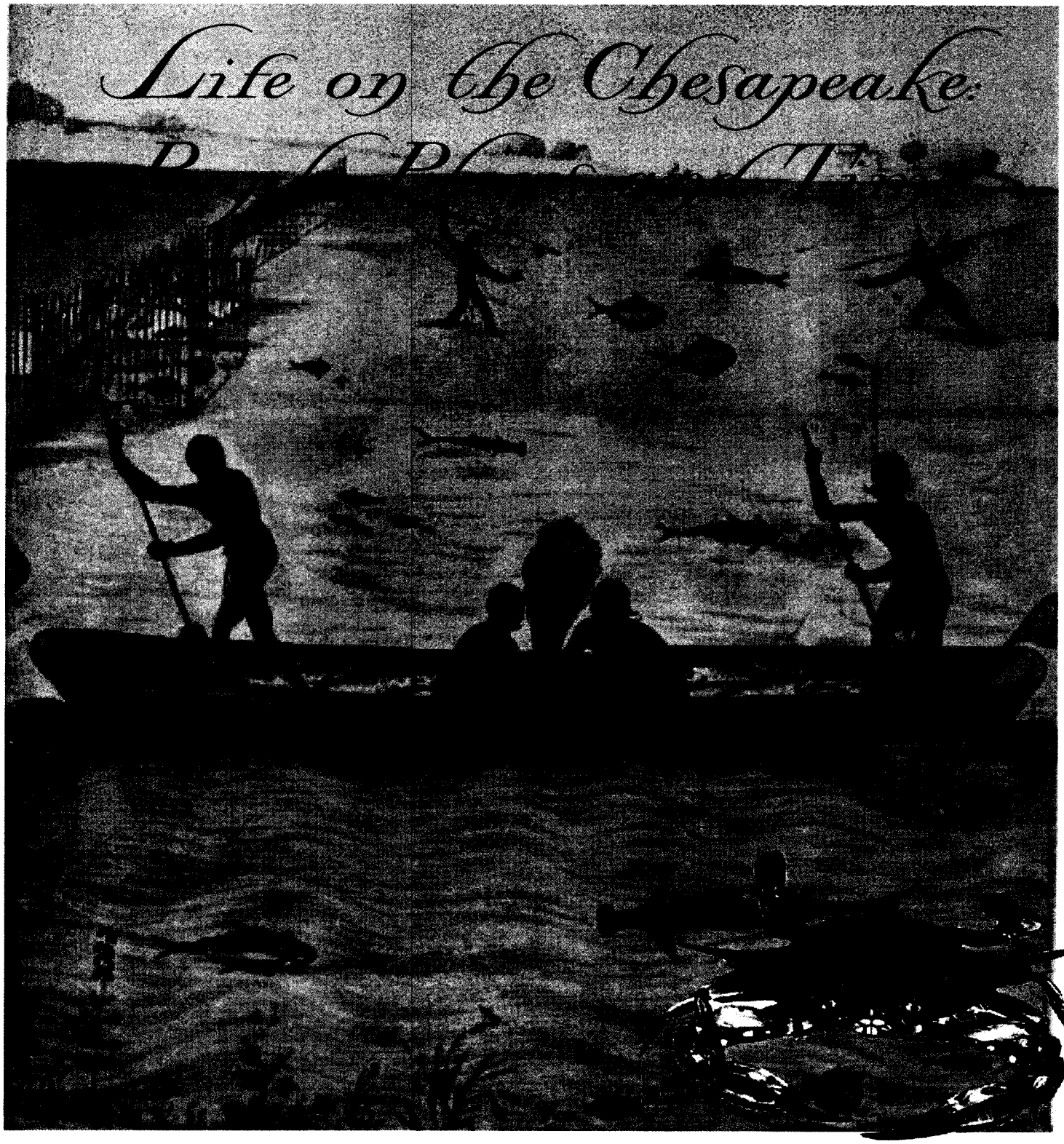
Nabb Research Center for Delmarva History and Culture

Shoreline

Vol. 12, No. 9 • September 2005

For the Members of the Edward H. Nabb Research Center for Delmarva History and Culture at Salisbury University



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Director's Dialogue

from Becky Miller

In all the generations that Shoremen have lived beside the waters of our beloved Chesapeake Bay, along the seaside or in between, we have been able to appreciate the spirit of fellowship that has dwelt on our Eastern Shore in the old manor or in the simple cottage. This issue of *Shoreline* is dedicated to life around the Chesapeake and we hope the articles capture a sense of the diversity of life and people throughout the centuries. We're always looking back and it seems as if every generation peers anew into its Chesapeake past as demonstrated in the 1930 article on page 17.

Our annual fundraiser, this year held at "Cellar House" on the Pocomoke River, was our most successful to date, thanks to the hard work of many people and our generous sponsors and supporters. See pages 30-31 for photos from the event and a listing of our supporters. Our 2006 fundraiser Eventide at "Water's Edge," co-chaired by Nabb Board members Sarah Showell and Lenore Huffer, will be held at the West Ocean City home of Mrs. Ann Showell and catered by Phillips Crab House. Castle in the Sand will provide the potent potables. Watch your monthly newsletters for the date and other announcements.

We've had our usual busy summer, as seen in our *Shoreline* features, including the Teaching American History Institute, the Maryland Summer Center for Gifted and Talented Students and of course our many visitors from around the country. History lecturer Peggy Genvert has developed a new class to be taught at the Nabb called "Mysterious Chesapeake Settlers." Nabb staff Aaron Horner and Becky Miller have been busy developing exercises for the students. We'll let you know more about the class in the next issue.

We hope you enjoy the "Unknown Soldier" article on page 12, researched and written by last semester's student intern in English, Justin Wooten-Janney. Look for a postscript to that article in our March 2006 edition based on information Nabb Vice-Chair Peggy Genvert found for us at the National Archives.

Thank you, dear members, for your continuing support of our educational mission. May our readers near and far appreciate the sand in their shoes from the land of pleasant living.

NOTE: Source materials for articles are available at the Nabb Research Center.

Submissions

Anyone interested in submitting an article to the *Shoreline* newsletter should send their item to the newsletter editor as follows:

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or send an e-mail to
rcdhac@salisbury.edu.

We also welcome your comments and suggestions.

Hours & Closings

HOURS
Monday, 10 a.m.-9 p.m.
Tuesday-Friday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

CLOSINGS
Thanksgiving - November 24-25
Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Day - January 16

NEW SPECIAL HOURS
Monday-Friday,
December 26-30, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

Welcome

The Nabb Research Center warmly welcomes Kathleen J. Fichtel as the Nabb Center's newest graduate assistant who will be working at the front desk during the 2005 fall semester. Kathleen graduated from St. Mary's University with a B.A. in general history and is currently beginning her second semester at Salisbury University with a focus in ancient history. Welcome to the team.

On the Cover: John White's 1885 watercolor drawing "The manner of their fishing." Stock image of a blue crab. Conception by James Edward Jensen and design by Samuel Gibson.

Shoreline

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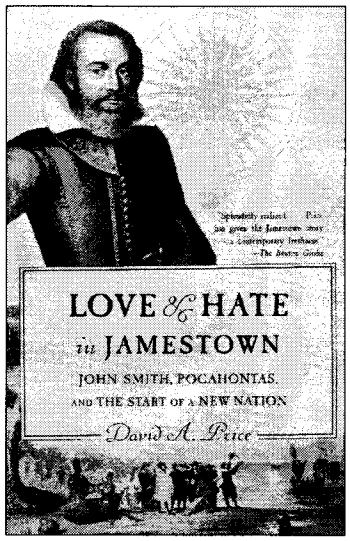

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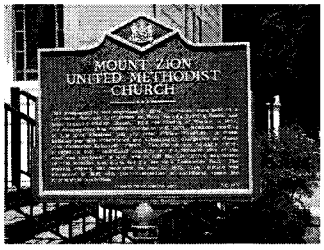

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Director, Rebecca F. Miller. *Research Assistants,* Aaron Horner and James Jensen. *Administrative Assistant,* Donna Messick. *Library Technician/Web Designer,* Iris Powell. *Graduate Assistants,* Kathleen Fichtel and Jason Illari.

This issue and back issues of the *Shoreline* may be purchased for $10 each by contacting us at 410-543-6312 or rcdhac@salisbury.edu.

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Dimming Lights: The Fate of the Chesapeake Bay Lighthouse

by T. Aaron Horner

One feature most common to the New England landscape is a lighthouse. Due to the rugged terrain of its shoreline, lighthouses provided safe passage for captains and their ships. In the Chesapeake Bay, lighthouses served a vital function as well. Unlike the rocky terrain that makes up the New England shoreline, captains may encounter a number of hazards while sailing the Bay. Physical feature such as islands, shoals and narrow river channels could have damaging effects on ships. Weather also had a major impact on the Bay, from gusty winds to thunderstorms to ice floes; they can make sailing conditions very treacherous. All throughout its history, the Chesapeake Bay saw a large volume of commercial traffic, whether it was the tobacco trade during the Colonial period or the seafood industry starting in the 19th century. The profession of a lighthouse keeper was a lonely job and could be dangerous at times. The keepers played an important role to keep the continuous flow of goods moving up and down the Bay. Three major types of lighthouse design used in the Chesapeake were conical towers, screw-piles and caissons.

The first Chesapeake Bay lighthouse appeared at Cape Henry, VA. As early as 1718, Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia petitioned the British Board of Trade for the construction of a lighthouse at the entrance to the Bay; however, his request was denied. Three years later, he proposed that a lighthouse at Cape Henry should be constructed. Spotswood never saw his dream come to light; construction did not start until 1774. With limited funds and a looming war, construction came to an immediate halt. Finally, in 1789, Congress passed a bill for the completion of the lighthouse at Cape Henry, thus becoming the first federal building authorized by the new government. In 1792, 71 years after its inception, the Cape Henry Lighthouse was completed.

Lighthouse construction in the United States was slow as it entered into the 19th century due to mismanagement of funds and poor construction. Maryland would not see its first lighthouse until 1823 with the completion of Bodkin Island at the entrance to Patapsco River. Starting in the 1820s, John Donohoo of Havre de Grace became the principal builder of lighthouses in the upper Chesapeake. He built over a dozen lighthouses during the second quarter of the 19th century, several of which still stand today like Turkey Point at the head of the Chesapeake Bay and Cove Point near Calvert Cliffs.

The Great Shoals lighthouse; the house was demolished in 1966 and once stood at the mouth of the Wicomico River, photo by Orlando V. Wootten, found in the Wootten collection within the Nabb Research Center archives.

At this point, lighthouses were conical towers built on land near the shoreline. By the second half of the 19th century, lighthouse construction turned to the screw-pile design. Its name derives from the "screw" located at the end of each wrought iron pipe which would then be inserted into the sea bottom. This type of construction was cheap, easy to build and quick to completion. Built as cottages on stilts, these lighthouses sat on top of the piles consisting of a central pile surrounded by perimeter piles. They often replaced light vessels that guarded the shallow bays, sounds and rivers. The problem with these structures was ice floe, a common occurrence in the Bay. Several lighthouses had been torn off, including Hooper Strait in 1877 and Sharps Island in 1881; fortunately no loss of lives was reported from either incident. By this time, the caisson lighthouses started to appear. Unlike the screw-pile lighthouses, they were more expensive and time consuming to build. However, they were more stable and long-lasting, particularly against any ice floe. Construction consisted of submerging a cylindrical base into the sea bottom, filling it with concrete ballast. Once completed, a lighthouse was constructed on the caisson base. The first caisson lighthouse in the Chesapeake Bay was Craighill Channel Range Front Light in the Patapsco River in 1873. Other caisson lighthouses that continue to exist today include Bloody Point near Kent Island, Sharps Island at the entrance to the Choptank River and Solomons Lump near Smith Island in Kedges Straits.

In 1910, Maryland built its last lighthouse. In all, 106 lighthouses were built at 80 different locations all along the Chesapeake Bay and her tributaries. Afterward, the number of manned lighthouses in the Chesapeake began to slowly decline. One factor was erosion coupled with the rise in sea level. This had been a problem with the first lighthouse towers in the 19th century, when a number of those had been converted to screw-piles. A second factor involved the conversion of lighthouses by the U.S. Coast Guard from manned to automated light stations. For screw-pile lighthouses, it simply meant demolishing the houses that sat upon the piles and replacing them with a beacon. In 1986, Thomas Point at the entrance to South River became the last manned lighthouse in the Chesapeake Bay converted to automated status. Other lighthouses have fallen victim to the elements such as Watts Island, which collapsed shortly after a severe winter storm in 1944.

Today, approximately 30 lighthouses continue to operate in the Chesapeake Bay. There have been efforts made to preserve these remaining lighthouses. In 1989, the Maryland Lighthouse Commission was established with the passage of House Bill 148 titled "An Act Concerning [a] Commission to Save the Lighthouses." Comprised of politicians, lighthouse experts and members of the general public, they performed a number of activities that included a survey of surviving lighthouses, documentation and technical evaluations. Today, the Maryland Historical Trust has continued the work started by this commission. Three other lighthouses have been saved and moved to other locations to serve as "learning centers"; they include Drum Point at the Calvert Marine Museum in Solomons, Hooper Strait at the Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum in St. Michaels and Sevenfoot Knoll at the Living Classroom Foundation in

Web News

American Origins Online Link Available On Nabb Center Web Site

By James Jensen

American Origins, a pilot project conceived by Nabb Center Director Rebecca Miller, and a work in progress, is now hosted by the Edward H. Nabb Research Center for Delmarva History and Culture at Salisbury University. It is a digital archive, utilizing GIS technology, focusing on the settlement period of 1663 through 1759. The database consists of records pertaining to the inhabitants of the neck of land just south of the Wicomico River in Somerset County, MD, currently referred to as Mt. Vernon. This area, formerly known as the Hungary Neck district, contained portions of the original hundreds of Monie and Wicomico during the Colonial period.

The American Origins online project would never have gotten off the ground without funding from the Institute of Museum and Library Services and the Maryland Historical Trust along with the assistance of both Salisbury University and its Mapping Science Group. The project staff included Salisbury students such as T. Aaron Horner, Mike Dondzilla, David Dauses Jr., Jill Jeffery, Lora Koehler, Jennifer Ward and Tim Robinson–along with Salisbury University history professor Creston Long.

The American Origins Web site contains numerous mediums to assist researchers, from a timeline of events to Web site searches consisting of either: keyword, person, property or geographical queries. In order to compile the massive amount of information for this ongoing project, the American Origins project staff examined maps, land records, tax lists, judicial documents, wills and inventories. As a further tool to assist researchers using the American Origins Web site, several links were added to help researchers navigate the World Wide Web in search of other sites offering associated materials and information.

This publication has been financed in part with funds from the Maryland Historical Trust, an agency of the Department of Housing and Community Development of the State of Maryland. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the view or policies of the Maryland Historical Trust or the Department of Housing and Community Development.

"The ultimate goal of American Origins will be the accumulation of various materials and creation of so-called 'biographical sketches' of Delmarva's earliest European settlers. Today's technology has allowed us to put multiple amounts of material into one body of work that we will be able to sort through and answer the problems to past events. American Origins will be another [medium facilitating the Nabb Research Center's access to a larger audience through the Web]. American Origins will allow us to take materials and convert them into maps (i.e. tax lists)."

- T. Aaron Horner

James E. Jensen is the Nabb Center Reading Room coordinator and candidate for an M.A. in history from Salisbury University.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

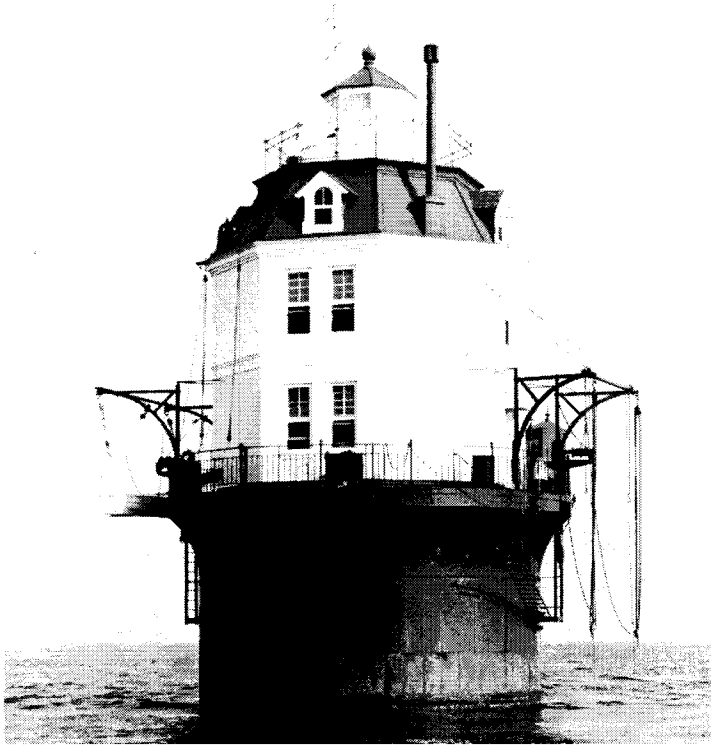
Dimming Lights: The Fate of the Chesapeake Lighthouse

downtown Baltimore.

However, time may be running out for other lighthouses. This August, Newport News Middle Ground at the entrance to the James River will be up for auction. Three other Virginia lighthouses–Thimble Shoal, Wolf Trap and Smith Point–may meet a similar fate. The government had hoped that a nonprofit group or municipality would freely accept any of the lighthouses as long as they continued to pay for their upkeep; unfortunately, there were no takers. In Maryland, the U.S. Coast Guard has considered tearing down Sharps Island. In 1977, ice floe tilted the lighthouse 20 degrees and the fear is now that it may eventually fall completely over. With many sailing vessels of today being "high-tech," i.e. equipped with radios, radar, depth finders and/or GPS units, the future of lighthouses on the Chesapeake Bay may be a fading light.

The Nabb Research Center has a microfilm copy of lighthouse records from the 19th and early 20th century issued by the National Archives in Washington and donated by John Somers of Princess Anne. Titled *Register of Lighthouse Keepers (1845-1913)*, this covers the area from New York to Virginia.

T. Aaron Horner, Nabb Center research assistant and SU alumnus, specializes in both geography and history with an interest in the Eastern Shore.



The Point No Point lighthouse; east of Saint Marys County, photo by Orlando V. Wootten, found in the Wootten collection within the Nabb Research Center archives.

The Bibliographical Sketch of One Robert Collier, Early Settler to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Somerset County

Miles-Stevenson Prize-Winning Essay

by Kenneth M Berlett Jr.

Robert Collier was most likely born in the year of our lord One Thousand Six Hundred Forty Six, for it is known that he was of the age of twenty upon coming to the American Colonies. Little is known as to the exact whereabouts of Robert's birth; his father and mother cannot be found in any line of lineage. It is however appropriate in assuming that Robert most likely came from a long line of semi-educated laborers from the Crail Parish along England's North Sea border. The Collier surname, although it does not mention Robert or his predecessors, was very prevalent all through this district in England. Throughout the Crail region were a variety of skilled craftsman including tailors, shoemakers, weavers, and coopers. Through Robert Collier's inventory taken upon his death [see accompanying inventory], it is evident that these craftsman skills were passed down. In the Collier inventory exists materials suitable for craftsman labor, such as those of a weaver and/or tanner. Although it is impossible to determine Robert Collier's direct pedigree, from the indications of his choice of labor along with his shared surname, common to the Crail region, one can ascertain that Robert Collier most likely migrated to the colonies from the North Sea border region of England.

Although Robert Collier's predecessors and exact place of birth remain a mystery, his journey to the American Colonies does not. Robert, along with 155 others, was transported to the Virginia Colony in June of 1666 by Captain Joseph Bridgee and Mr. William Burgh. However, it is not evident as to Robert's position in society once he reached the Virginia Colony. There is no account of Robert Collier as an indentured servant; perhaps he was able to pay for his transport, or even exchange it for a guaranteed plot of land. The only fact that is evident is that Robert Collier did transport himself and six others from the Virginia Colony to Maryland's Eastern Shore by the 20th of March, 1672, and for doing so was granted three hundred and fifty acres of land. Perhaps Robert Collier was an indentured servant; this period of time would have been sufficient enough for him to serve out his indenture. However, this would not explain how Robert Collier was able to afford the transport of himself along with six others, two of which were directly related, to the Maryland Colony. Based on the mere fact that Robert did not migrate to Maryland alone, it is most likely that either he served a shortened period of indentured servitude and was later able to generate enough income to afford a move to Maryland or he came to the Americas as a freeman, whose transport was paid by a friend or a potential investor in his skilled craftsmanship. Had Robert Collier merely migrated to Maryland alone, he could be viewed as a freed indentured servant, but the fact that he transported multiple parties challenges this belief.

Robert had obviously prospered on his 350 acre plot of land granted to him by Charles Calvert upon the transport of himself and six others to Maryland. By 1672, Collier sought to add onto his growing estate with the purchase of an additional 150 acres of land, which would become known as "Shadwell." Originally sold to John Pearse, Shadwell was a purchase of 300 acres on November 30, 1672. Pearse rented the 150 acre portion to Collier, later selling the same portion of half the property, near the south side of the Nanticoke River, for a sum of 6 schillings in 1683.

In the 1674, Collier made another purchase of land, this time totaling 200 acres. The portion of land, known as "Batchellors Adventure," was quite befitting as a name for the land. For Collier, this was a bachelor's adventure, his largest purchase of land which came five months prior to his marriage. On October 15, 1674, Collier purchased the 200 acre plot, two miles from the Nanticoke River, for a sum of 8 schillings. The land would be managed by Capt. James Dashiell, a relative to Collier's future wife.

By 1675, Robert Collier had established himself in his newly acquired land throughout the Eastern Shore of Maryland. By this time Robert had met and potentially fallen in love with one Elizabeth Dashiell, most likely relative to Thomas Dashiell, whom Robert had paid for the transport of to Maryland from Virginia nine years prior. Robert and Elizabeth were later married on the second day of March in the year 1675 by the honorable John Winder and his justices.

Later that year in November, Collier went into another rent investment with John Pearse, this time for a 100 acre plot of land, known as "Dudley." On November 17, 1675, Collier agreed to purchase the land from Pearse for four schillings. The plot of land, located on the south side of the Nanticoke River, was near Oyster Creek in Somerset County, Maryland, and was reserved for Collier for thirty pounds of tobacco paid upfront. In the year 1683, on the 14th day of February, Robert purchased the land in full from Pearse for the remainder of five thousands pounds of tobacco. Of the 100 acre plot, 80 acres went to his eldest son James, and the remaining 20 acres of land were kept by Robert.

Within a year of marriage, Elizabeth gave birth to their first child, a daughter whom they named Anne, born of the 2nd day of December in the year 1676. The second child of Robert and Elizabeth, a son named James, was born on the 29th day of April in the year 1679. Elizabeth would later give birth to three more sons: Robert, Thomas, and George, and three more daughters: Katherine, Jane, and Sarah, a total of eight children in all.

May of 1676 marked Robert Collier's last purchase of land. This plot would greatly increase Robert's land to the east of the Nanticoke River. On May 12 of 1676 Collier paid, in full, eight schillings for a 200 acre plot southward of Quantico, known as "Covent Garden," to be managed by James Dashiell. This final purchase brought Robert Collier's land total to 920 acres, 570 of which he purchased on top of the 350 granted unto him by Charles Calvert. Robert's ties to the Dashiell family through Elizabeth, his wife, most likely allowed for his prosperity. James Dashiell, a captain, most likely helped transport Collier's goods and crops for sale, and for doing so Robert entrusted the management of his plantations to Dashiell.

Robert's prosperity remains evident through his repeated success. Robert was able to come to the Maryland region and prosper through various trades. Collier was obviously a successful tobacco planter on the Eastern Shore. However, it appears the Robert's success came from his involvement in multiple endeavors. A look at Collier's inventory reveals both materials for weaving and tanning. Obviously the Collier family was involved in minor cloth production as well as the polishing and refining of tanned leathers for sale.

A further examination of the Collier inventory reveals two boats, which indicate that Collier not only produced goods for sale along with cash crops, but may also have done his own bartering and selling. With Collier's easy access to local tributaries of the Chesapeake along the Nanticoke River, he was able to transports his goods and crops throughout the region for sale, increasing his own profits and allowing for his good success.

Collier's good success remains evident throughout his many years. In 1683 he was elected as the Nanticoke constable, a position respected for upholding the peace and fulfilling court orders. Collier was later named as a magistrate to his district on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. These however are Collier's only appearances in court records, which indicate his morally sound life spent on the honest side of the law. Robert Collier was a proud man, who was pleased with his accomplishments. In 1684, Robert turned over the rights to 520 acres of his land to his eldest son James. This portion of land was properly entitled "Collier's Good Success."

Before his death in 1703, Robert Collier had flourished beyond his farthest imagination. Collier had grown into a prosperous businessman and planter. He used his keen craftsman knowledge

Book Review of New Acquisition At the Nabb Center

by Jason Illari

Price, David A. *Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas and the Start of a New Nation.* New York: First Vintage Books, 2005.

Recently added to the Nabb Research Center's library is David A. Price's *Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas and the Start of a New Nation.* Price's book presents readers with a comprehensive survey of the birth and development of Jamestown–founded in 1607 by excited entrepreneurs, whom he describes as individuals with "pure hearts and empty heads, expecting to find riches, welcoming natives, and an easy life on the other shore."(13) Yet, as the title implies, *Love and Hate* is more than just a book about American Colonial history. Price focuses on the personalities of John Smith and his contemporary, Pocahontas–famed daughter of the equally well-known Chief Powhatan of Virginia. Price reminds readers of the purely platonic relationship that existed between Smith and Pocahontas and their crucial role in "the survival of the small English outpost."(4)

Price's narrative is engaging and full of rich storytelling. Although a source of great debate among historians, Price asserts that Pocahontas had indeed saved Smith's life on two occasions. The first being when, in the company of Powhatan and his chief executioners, Pocahontas threw herself upon the downtrodden Smith in order to prevent the cruel execution that was intended for him. The second rescue occurred in the winter of 1608, when Smith was informed by Pocahontas that Powhatan's warriors intended to attack Smith and his men after cordially serving them dinner.

Nor does Price neglect to remind readers of the other well-known events associated with the time of Smith and Pocahontas. He recounts the agonies that befell most of the colonists in the winter of 1609-1610 in his chapter "The Starving Time". Price states, "for those with the moral compass to keep them from eating other humans, the reward was usually slow death. Some dug their own graves, lay in them, and waited for the end to come."(128) Furthermore, readers are reminded of the English's staged kidnapping of Pocahontas in order to strengthen bartering leverage with Powhatan. Price argues that this event ultimately reinforced Pocahontas' decision to stay with the English due to her father's timidity in bartering for her life. Immediately following this decision, Pocahontas (now about 16 years of age) married 28-year-old colonist John Rolfe. Price writes, "the ensuing years have been called the 'golden age' of relations between the two peoples. From the standpoint of the colonists, at least, the phrase is accurate."(158) Two years after their marriage in 1614, Rolfe, Pocahontas (now Rebecca Rolfe) and their son Thomas landed at Plymouth. By this time, Smith had been in England for about seven years, diligently writing his memoirs, working on maps and promoting the interests of Virginia and other English colonies in the New World.

In an interesting but somewhat disjointed chapter, "The First African Americans," Price explores the circumstances surrounding the arrival of African-Americans in the New World in the year 1619. He also argues that these individuals were not necessarily slaves upon their arrival but "may instead have had the legal position of indentured servants."(197) Price, while acknowledging that notions of black inferiority were embedded in English society, notes that clear evidence distinguishing hereditary slavery did not appear in the American colonies until the 1640s. In the final two chapters of *Love and Hate*, Price examines the key events leading up to the infamous Indian attack of Jamestown in1622, Smith's reaction to the attack and his ultimate vision for America's future.

As mentioned, the central theme of *Love and Hate* is the crucial role played by both Smith and Pocahontas in saving Jamestown from utter annihilation, which in turn precipitated factors that helped spawn further Colonial development in America. In this connection, Price stresses the typical characteristics and endeavors associated with Smith during his tenure as leader of the colony, specifically, his strict discipline and organizational skills within the outpost and also his ability to negotiate with local Indian tribes for sorely needed food resources. Price examines Smith's time in England as well, and his endeavors to promote English colonization in America. Regarding Pocahontas' contributions, Price sites her courage to extend a welcoming hand to the English in 1607. He also dedicates a chapter to her life in London, where she "remained the tractable native, the presumed forerunner of the many who would eventually be won over by the colonists' culture and good intentions-opening the way for unhindered English settlement and commerce."(183) Therefore, regardless of their intentions or possible hidden agendas, Price argues that both figures contributed substantially to English settlement on American soil.

In his final chapter, Price, for the most part, sets aside an examination of Pocahontas and makes a few closing remarks concerning the legacy of John Smith. He writes "Smith's years in Virginia, combined with his individualistic temperament, led him to see two potential attributes of the New World that could be as enticing as gold."(230) The first, Price maintains, was social mobility which Smith was able to demonstrate in Jamestown. The second attribute was liberty–"the liberty to pursue one's own interest was not only mankind's proper condition, but an engine that could power a society to greatness."(231) Price argues that these attributes would have struck a cord with the Republic's founding generation, who were thoroughly familiar with the tumultuous life of Smith.

Although many veteran historians and scholars will appreciate Price's enthusiasm for Smith and Pocahontas, they may be hard-pressed to glean arguments from *Love and Hate* that revolutionize their thinking about the two historical figures. Yet, novice historians and casual readers will find Price's work extremely thought-provoking and highly entertaining. Hopefully, Price's book and others like it will be sought after in the months to come, especially with Jamestown's 400 year anniversary fast approaching.

Jason Illari, graduate assistant at the Nabb Center, serves as curator in residence at Poplar Hill Mansion located in Salisbury.

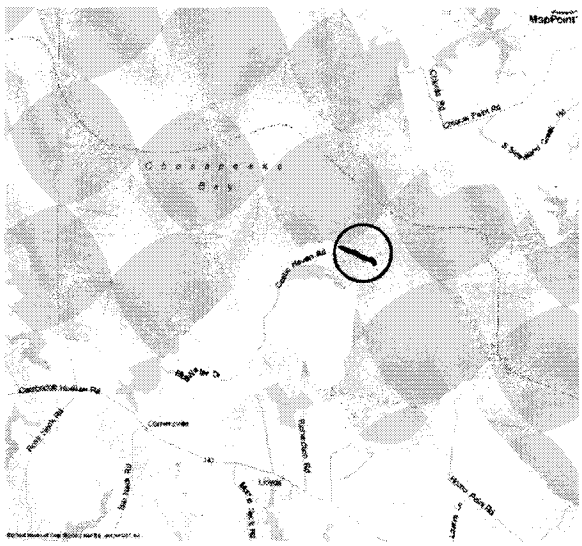
to increase his wealth through fabric production and refining tanned leathers, while generating the large portion of his wealth through his agricultural endeavors as most likely a tobacco planter. On November 7, 1696, Collier turned the last of his purchased lands over to his second son Robert of the same name. This portion of land, known as the "Late Discovery," marked the end of Robert Collier's life as a prosperous planter, craftsman, businessmen, and entrepreneur; slave, servant, and land owner. Robert Collier retired to his original estate of 350 acres until his death seven years after he granted the remainder of his plantations to his second son. Robert Collier left behind him a grand estate built from nothing into 920 acres of fertile land along the Nanticoke River. He left the remainder of his estate unto his loving wife Elizabeth and divided his goods and chattels amongst his descendents. Robert Collier left his life's achievements in the hands of his sons and family; to his youngest son, George, whom he did not have enough land or possession to grant, he guaranteed two years of schooling upon his death to ensure that he have every opportunity to achieve the success his father so did earn. Robert Collier is a fine example of a man with a dream, who set out to a new nation, established his fine name in that nation, and proceeded to embark on a prosperous life which would forever benefit his descendants. The Collier mark is still left on the Eastern Shore region, along the Nanticoke River, by the large creek which bears the family name, located on the original estate.

Kenneth Berlett, Salisbury history program sophomore, Phi Eta Sigma member and native of Baltimore, was awarded an academic scholarship and plans to teach high school history and coach baseball and wrestling.

Ordinary Life: Class and the Public Houses Of 17-Century Maryland

by Anthony C. Russo

Captain Richard Hill, the Lower House delegate from Ann Arundel was concerned about the town's future. The recent proliferation of unlicensed ordinary and tippling houses throughout the province had caused such a stir that the Upper House was recommending that all ordinaries except those that served courthouses be outlawed. As Ann Arundel (along with other burgeoning towns) had little court business, it would mean the end of what had become an alternate center of social life. It would also mean that a person of means that was traveling through the area might have to find a place to stay and take meals (and of course drink) in St. Mary's City where their accommodations were more plentiful. As a wealthy planter and merchant, Captain Hill did not want his promising township to be reduced to a backwater by virtue of not having sufficient public space. He was on his way to the Upper House to present a compromise that would exempt particular ordinaries known to be of good quality and reliable ownership.



A map of modern day Castle Haven; the circled area represents most of Peter Underwood's holdings.

While 17th-century Maryland was almost completely wilderness, it was not without society. Neighbors visited each other often and met at one another's houses both socially and for business reasons. Ale, cider and spirits were the staple beverages of the time and get-togethers surely incorporated drinking. Homemade brews were the order of the day and most houses had a still that hosts used to keep themselves and their guests well supplied.

For all of the home stills, social interaction and ostensibly free booze, ordinaries and tippling houses, forerunners of the local bar, became not only immensely popular but also civically problematic in Maryland by the end of the 17th century. The alcohol service industry was able to gain purchase in Maryland because, as the colony developed, the unreliable price of tobacco coupled with the growing population offered a particular opportunity to earn additional income by servicing travelers. Inn keeping was not merely a profitable alternative source of income; it was an alternative route to improving one's social status and, as such, was beset by both laws and mores oriented toward maintaining class structure in a society without a sanctioned aristocracy. Ordinaries and tippling houses serviced the higher and lower classes respectively. By offering more amenities than could be expected in a private home, larger ordinaries were able to succeed while the poorer tippling houses were eventually outlawed because of their lack of discernment and propensity to take advantage of strangers.

In early Colonial Maryland, those municipalities that passed for towns consisted of a courthouse or large private residence that was used for official proceedings, some merchant offices and residences, an ordinary and maybe its poorer cousin, the ale or tippling house. The public houses of the day that would become city taverns drew most of their trade from court attendance while their rural counterparts provided food and drink as sidelines to their main businesses of shipping and ferrying. Colonial Marylanders did not go to these places expressly to drink, but since drinking was such a large part of their culture, the regularity with which the colonists both met and drank transformed these centers of contact into drinking places by default.

The development of taverns in Maryland came after the development of sizable cities. Unlike in New England where, by the 1630s, towns of significant size devoted to trade sprang up relatively quickly around public trading houses and taverns gained an early foothold, Maryland was overwhelmingly agrarian. A typical workday consisted of back-breaking farm work and most drinking was done in the fields and at home. Since nearly everyone that drank concocted their own beverages (primarily cider and spirits) domestically, there was little need for conventional taverns.

Although the development of courthouses certainly brought with it accompanying ordinaries and tippling houses, it must be remembered that delegates, petitioners and sheriffs traveled by water much in the way that their modern counterparts travel by highway. Even toward the end of the century, such roads as existed were not fit to travel long distances. Since all business relied upon use of Maryland's intricate system of rivers, ferry landings were the foremost site for public engagement in Colonial Maryland. Indeed, three of the four ordinary keepers mentioned in a 1674 law regulating ordinaries were also importers.

The ordinaries near courthouses were relatives of the English Inn. The first half of the 17th century saw inns in England increase in both size and amenities, yet by the last half of the century Colonial ordinaries still struggled to keep up a slightly higher standard of living than could be found in a local home, probably as much in the spirit of competition with one another as because they often housed visiting Englishmen who had particular expectations. As Peter Clark points out in *The English Alehouse*, "prosperous merchants usually preferred the comfort of the established inn."

Except for business and court transactions, there was little purpose for men to meet with one another, but the opportunities that presented themselves were used wisely; that is, they included drinking. In Maryland, ferry landings and the areas around courthouses became the forerunner of the tavern in a similar way to its New England counterparts, but with a significant distinction: by the 1630s New England ordered the construction of taverns to accommodate the increasing number of people doing business in town; in Maryland there was no such early movement. In fact, it was not until 1681 that Anne Arundel sponsored the construction of a courthouse ordinary, becoming the first county to do so.

The difference between tavern development in Maryland and New England lies in a combination of Maryland's lack of sturdy roads and its reliance on tobacco production. Farmers and other traders used the rivers and creeks that extended from the Chesapeake Bay inland to transport their goods as well as to visit provincial and county courts. This spawned a ferry

industry regulated by the provincial government that acted as a kind of public mass transit since many Marylanders did not own boats. Being public places, ferry landings naturally became places where men could come and meet and discuss community events.

In the mid-1660s the tobacco market entered the kind of boom and bust cycle that was to plague American agriculture for the next 250 years. In addition to the decreased reliability of tobacco prices, a greater number of indentured servants (for whom opportunities were rare and decreasing) than ever before began to finish their terms of service and start patenting land. Unfortunately, the cost of patenting and tilling the land was often more than a newly freed servant could manage, especially with the diminishing prices of tobacco, and many had to find alternate sources of income.

In England, a person with no other means would often open their house to travelers. Since, even in the lowest English tippling houses "one of the vital features ... was its fire," the low expectations were easy to meet. In Colonial Maryland, indentured servants generally came from the lowest tier of Britain's city-dwellers and often lacked the agricultural skills of African slaves. These two observations suggest that although they were likely to have less success than large planters, freemen were well acquainted with how to handle hard times. There can be little doubt that opening one's house to travelers seemed a ready-made solution to independent former servants down on their luck.

One servant who was fortunate enough to succeed along this route was Peter Underwood, who gained his freedom in the late 1650s and went on to run a successful ferry and ordinary at Castle Haven, near present-day Cambridge. He represents the kind of success story that was prominent in the English advertisements of the day and his experience offers further insight into why opening an ordinary (or tippling house) would have held a particular fascination for newly freed indentured servants with minimal capital or skills.

Underwood arrived in Maryland in about 1654 at the age of 18 and his service was sold to Peter Johnson in Talbot County. After working for Johnson for three years, Underwood ran away. It is not clear that he was mistreated by Johnson; indeed it is likely that either his curiosity about the expansive wilderness got the better of him or, considering his eventual career choice, farm work was too arduous. In what could easily have been a lark gone wrong, or a rash response to a heated argument, he and another servant, John Boone, set out from Talbot County bound for the Elk River. The boys traded a gun for some venison, bread and corn and headed out into the Bay only to "loose themselves" almost immediately and return shortly thereafter. They worked for Abraham Holman (their abettor) for three weeks, hiding when any neighbors came. Eventually Holman decided to try to sell them back to Johnson, but failed because Johnson proved that Underwood and his traveling companion had been unlawfully detained.

Indentured servants (who were at least as numerous as, if not more numerous than, slaves before the turn of the century) were not easily distinguished from the yeoman farmer, making it difficult to discern runaways. Although the existence of runaway servant laws suggests that there was at least some concern about runaway servants, it is unclear that there was a runaway servant epidemic. For our purposes, however, it is worth noting that a man could easily have his ferryman's license revoked for failing to ensure that he was not transporting runaways. While losing one's ferry license did not prevent one from running an ordinary, it cannot have been good for business.

Except for Underwood's testimony as a freeman working as a hand for hire marking cattle and doing odd chores in 1657, there is little about Underwood in the court records or land transactions before the 1670s. What is known is that he had somehow firmly established himself as a ferryman and inn-holder before 1674 on land that he did not patent until 1676. Underwood had no obvious political connections, yet he was able to secure an undoubtedly valuable piece of land (his ordinary not only served those seeking access to the Eastern Shore but also the trading vessels moving up and down the Chesapeake Bay), develop it and hold it while the rest of the Cambridge area was parceled out to large planters. This suggests that he provided a reliable and indispensable service to the community. That Peter Underwood did not patent Castle Haven until 1676, and then that he only patented nine acres calls into question just how extensive his ordinary initially was. Further, it raises questions about views of land ownership.

Underwood's ordinary certainly started out as a very poor one- or two-room shack, not unlike the tippling houses wherein England's near destitute resided. However, it was on a prime piece of real estate where the Choptank River met the LaCompte and Chesapeake bays. Location alone must have helped Underwood turn a profit from the outset but only by using his profits to improve his ordinary could he have ensured his continued success. These continual improvements probably kept him from being forced off the land that he occupied for a significant time before owning.

In December 1673, Underwood received a warrant for 50 acres of land; in 1675 he renewed his warrant for 41 acres, having already begun the patent process on Castle Haven. Of course, it was during this period that Underwood's ordinary was singled out as indispensable, even though it did not service the courthouse. It is unlikely that it became indispensable in the course of a few months.

The most likely explanation for Underwood's possession of this land without ownership revolves around a combination of courtesy and convenience. In order to be well established by 1674 he must have already been occupying the property around the same time that his neighbors were developing their properties. Castle Haven is on an isthmus and was not likely seen as a valuable piece of property by those who were starting plantations. It is probable that his neighbors either chose not to survey the land because he was already on it or that the two neighboring parcels butted up against each other in such a way as to create a 9-acre surplus. Further, Underwood had a wife and daughter and at the time of his death in 1676, he was a widower and his daughter was married. This suggests that he had been established in one place for at least 15 years. A small family, comprised of two ex-servants, running a poor ordinary and ferry at the edge of an isthmus in the 1660s was probably left alone. [See accompanying map.]

Underwood's eventual success also suggests something about general economic life in the 1660s and 1670s. In 1657, while he was selling his services as a farmhand or ranger, the price of tobacco was 2 pence per pound; by 1667 it was 1.10 pence per pound. With that kind of 10-year drop, it is clear that both large and small landholders were scrambling for ways to make ends meet. Indeed, throughout the late 1660s and early 1670s tobacco sales only accounted for two thirds of the annual average market income. While this number may seem impressive, it should be noted that it represented 90 percent of export income, indicating that a full third of a cash crop society's income was unaccounted for in a pre-industrial colony. Since nearly everybody farmed, small to middling planters had to make up the shortfall in some way.

The 1669 legislation to limit charges an ordinary or tippling house could make offers further evidence that a number of small planters and freeholders subsidized their incomes by opening their houses:

> Whereas divers ordinary Keepers within this Province doe frequently Exact & Charge Excessive Rates for their drink victuals & other necessary accommodators of Persons Resorting thither which may prove to the great Inconvenienses of the Inhabitants of this Province if noe Provision be made for the Regulacon thereof Bee it therefore Enacted by the Right honoble the Lord Proprietary by & wth the advice & Consent of the vpper & Lower house of this prsent Generall Assembly [that the following price standards will be in place for the next three years].

The language in the 1669 legislation suggests that traveling dignitaries, or even petitioners at court, probably were forced to pay what they considered extraordinary fees for one night on the dirt floor of a shack, a bit of hard cider and some biscuits for breakfast and raised adamant complaints upon reaching the court. And indeed, this was the state of most newly freed indentured servants' houses, which were designed to be

moved with a minimal amount of effort and often consisted of just two rooms: one for storage and one for everything else. It is not unreasonable to suggest that many ex-servants (who often share-cropped their former master's land), being unable to break into the plantation business, opened tippling houses near populated centers in an effort to make ends meet while they waited for their agricultural fortunes to change. Unfortunately for them, their patrons too often turned out to be merchants or delegates who knew price gouging when they saw it and could tell the difference between a "legitimate" ordinary and one that, like so many in England, was really a last-ditch effort to stay afloat.

Although many opened their houses due to lack of skill or other means of support, these were not the only, or even the best, reasons to diversify into ordinary keeping. Another reason had to do with the business climate of the time. Importers had as good a reason as anyone to diversify into the ordinary business. After all, they already had regular trade with locals who could get finished goods nowhere else and also had access to "higher end" French wines and Portuguese ports and thus access to "higher end" clientele.

One of these successful importers seems to have been George Beckwith, who is described in court records as a planter. It appears that his marriage to Francis Harvey provided him with an enormous house and probably most of his wealth. In matters of property and even in suits, Francis was given equal billing (i.e. George and Francis) and her family's status was often referred to (i.e. daughter of the late Nicholas Harvey). That the inventory of the Beckwith estate reads "the goods Chattells & Debts of George and Francis Beckwith" further indicates that Francis was a full partner with her husband. This is consistent with reports of husband and wife duos in English alehouses where the wife provided weary travelers with the pleasure of her company, usually in a completely platonic sense. Someone who had traveled a great distance would appreciate a "woman's touch" in both the decor and the company, and according to inventory records, the Beckwith's ordinary was both extensive and lavishly decorated suggesting that the former Miss Harvey may have been the primary keeper, while her husband attended his duties as planter and merchant.

If she was, it is no indication of novelty. Although there are no court records explicitly indicating other women inn holders, much about them can be inferred from the relationship between English and Colonial society. In England, widows (and older women in general) were rarely, if ever, prosecuted for opening small tippling houses since the local governments were probably happy to not have to support them out of the local coffers. Young women, however, were almost always suspected of prostitution and their establishments closed down.

Since during this period the only instances of ordinaries being closed down involved habitual Sabbath breaking and not suspected prostitution, it is a safe inference that women of marrying age did not run taverns by themselves. It is also reasonable to infer that inn-holder's wives took an active part in entertaining, if not primarily running large ordinaries. Older widows who could not make a living as midwives or seamstresses or the like, probably opened their homes to travelers and probably received the same grateful oversight of the Colonial government that was granted their English counterparts.

For reasons that are unclear at best, in late 1669, George and Francis left for England without making a will and died before reaching London, leaving a huge estate. The temptation to ascribe a false sense of immortality upon the elder Beckwith is overwhelming given that sea travel was still known to be extremely dangerous in the second half of the 17th century. Before departing George gave his friend George Robotham power of attorney but made no other provisions for the eventuality of both his and his wife's death. Even if an emergency required that they both leave for England immediately in the time he drafted his power of attorney Beckwith could have easily, at the very least, mentioned that if they both happened to die the estate could be evenly divided between his children, a daughter named Francis and a son named George. Whatever the case or causes, George and Francis' son, George, was left to run the estate as best as he could while litigation over his parents' debts continued into the 1790s and tobacco prices continued to fall.

In 1672 the traffic across the Patuxent River must have been exceptional and increasing because the Provincial Court requested additional ferries be established. The younger Beckwith, who was probably unprepared to meet all of his duties as well as relatively under-funded with his parent's estate still being contested, established his ferry in 1672 at his own cost. He assented to the regulated fee of 12 pence per passenger (person or horse). At his approval hearing, the provincial court:

> Granted to him it being made Appear before the Justices of the Provincial Court and also Provided that the said Beckwith or his Assigns take special Care to examine Persons that they know Not of their own certain knowledge to be freemen) that so run away Servants may not be helped forwards by Reason of the ferry Boat aforesaid and of this all Persons are to take notice at their Perills.

We have already seen, in Peter Underwood's case, that runaway servants were somewhat of a problem in the 1650s. The explicit nature of the Assembly's injunction suggests that, as the beginning of the population boom was underway, runaway servants became a more significant problem. Just as Peter Underwood was able to erect a house and start a business by occupying an empty parcel of land, so too might runaway servants escape unnoticed to other parts of Maryland (or other colonies altogether) and begin new lives for themselves.

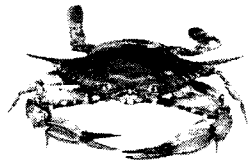
Beckwith's ferry ran from his house to Point Patience across the Patuxent River. Although the falling tobacco prices almost certainly played a role in his decision to run a ferry, it is possible that Beckwith's ordinary had lost its economic advantage with the death of its landlady and manning the ferry was not as much an instance of diversification as a marketing ploy. Whatever the circumstances, young George was probably in over his head and in 1675 he managed to have his ferry license revoked for transporting runaway servants. The ferry rights passed to Richard Keene of Calvert County, a merchant, inn holder and long-time neighbor of the Beckwiths.

The revocation of Beckwith's license indicates that ferrymen were supposed to be acquainted, or to get acquainted, with their fares. This suggests that a particular familiarity was known to have existed between travelers, locals and the ferryman. For ambitious men who understood the power of networking and of being on the good side of powerful merchants, planters and delegates, this practice did not need to be enforced. Indeed, a good businessman would make a special effort to acquaint himself with passing strangers, if only to ingratiate himself with potential future clients. Further, since rewards were often offered for runaways, even those customers who appeared to be lower class probably received at least enough attention to satisfy the proprietor that they were legitimate freemen.

Richard Keene did not begin as a politically powerful merchant, but as a middling merchant and inn holder, he did have access to the political elite, who were among those likely to purchase finished goods. As the Colonial economy slowed, a perceptive businessman would realize that even if he could not sell as many bottles of port as he could in the past, he could certainly sell more glasses of it.

Richard Keene also owned a significant plantation on the Patuxent River. Keene's house had been used to hold court in Calvert County as early as 1664, suggesting that he had opened his house to travelers for some time. As a neighbor and probable friend of Beckwith's, they surely influenced each other one way or another. Since one of the two men was the second to open a large, lavish ordinary on that particular stretch of the Patuxent, he may have proceeded upon the other's advice, if not blessing. The traffic along the Patuxent River was surely voluminous enough to accommodate two large ordinaries, probably with accompanying tippling houses, to suppress heated competition between Keene and Beckwith.

Keene early on recognized the usefulness of having an extensive house and probably set up the first of the two ordinaries not long after having completed its construction. He likely considered English views of class and understood that being a provincial lowered one's social standing, as did



being an inn holder. This must have created an interesting dynamic when Keene housed English merchants. Imagine an English gentleman's reaction to a well-decorated, maintained and stocked inn that was also part public house, jail and hospice. Even well-to-do Colonial merchants had trouble keeping "new" things so they compensated by having many things.

Keene's ordinary, like Beckwith's, was furnished with both beds and bedsteads, wooden and leather chairs, carpets and curtains, linen napkins and table cloths. He provided his guests plenty of fresh meat in addition to ale, cider, wine and spirits. Besides providing short-term lodging, Keene, like many other inn holders, also took in long-term residents and provided them with hospice services. Although in many cases the family, or at least the community, would care for the elderly and infirm, people with the means, or who lacked the kind of community contact that facilitated their final days, often took refuge in ordinaries, leaving their estates to be contested by the inn holders against their final bills.

The public aspect of these ordinaries surely played the greater part in the decision to receive hospice care there. Because there was always something going on at these bigger ordinaries, it was just the place for people who feared isolation. During "down" times between court sessions, during the unloading of imported goods or loading of exported goods, etc., men played ninepin and enjoyed other outdoor activities. In addition, card and dice games could always be found in the main room.

Further, it is likely that in the smaller tippling houses, similar activities went on among the lower classes. Servants and the like were not welcome in the English inn and as a result, smaller "tippling houses" sprang up around the inns. Tippling is very much the way an English servant would drink. Servants would step out for a quick drink the way modern office workers might pop out for a smoke, not so much at regular intervals but rather during a lull in their daily routine. There is every reason to suspect that this is precisely what was going on in Colonial Maryland. While the masters entertained themselves at the ordinary, the servants would step away to some meager house nearby for a tipple. For example, the construction of the Annapolis State House was constantly delayed because too many of the workmen were taking extended "breaks" at the local ordinaries and tippling houses, the Council of Maryland responded by drafting a law stating that ordinary keepers could be fined for "Entertaining any of the sd Workmen or Labourours in their Houses above a Quarter of an hour at a time."

The presence of an ordinary therefore made the profitability of a tippling house more likely. This was probably more prevalent near towns since the likelihood of a servant operating a tippling house on the master's property is remote. But as the number of ordinaries in and near town centers began to grow, two difficulties emerged. The first was that delegates' ordinary bills were paid by the state. The second was that as the number of ordinaries increased, the accompanying tippling houses almost certainly followed suit.

In fact, in 1674 the Maryland General Assembly ordered:

> That Whereas both Houses have by their Unanimous Vote thought fitt that no Ordinaries be kept in any place of this Province but where the Provincial Court and County Courts are kept and Besides in Ann Arundell County at Richard Hills; in Patuxent at Richard Keenes & George Beckwiths; in Dorchester County at Peter Underwoods and one at the Wading place between Kent and Talbot Counties and no more in the whole Province.

This was no doubt in response to economic and cultural pressures stemming from the attempts to regulate delegate traveling expenses, and to elevate Maryland ordinaries to English inn standards as well as the transition of indentured servants to freemen. The circumstances of the four men this law explicitly exempted is important because all four were planters and on ferry routes. This not only made their ordinaries critical (in fact, during the debates about whether to limit all ordinaries not at court, convenience and reliability are mentioned as reasons to make these exceptions) but also made out-of-town ordinaries exclusive of tippling houses by virtue of their presence on large plantations.

Since passage of the 1674 law coincided with the increasing numbers of freed indentured servants, it appears as if opening one's house for pay was a growing sideline for the lower classes. The rigorous standards set in place shows that class and social status had tremendous importance for both Colonial Marylanders and Virginians. The minimum requirements to keep an ordinary in 1674 required that the keepers "Give good Security to Maintaine Stable Room and Provision for Twenty Horses apiece and Twelve feather Beds with Suitable furniture before they have any Licence."

This served the dual purpose of limiting the type of people that could serve as hosts and standardizing the type of accommodations (and thereby housemates) one could expect. Good portions of the colonists were immigrants or first generation "Americans" and still relied heavily upon English convention. Class distinctions remained incredibly important, if more difficult to delineate and maintain.

The social immobility of the planter and merchant class created a dynamic in the colonies different than in Europe, where wealthy merchants could marry themselves, or their children "up" into the nobility. The pressure to improve ones status through possessions was as important as the pressure to improve one's status through public office, especially given that royal appointments were endowed with the highest offices. Even at the end of the century, when it became impossible to demand these exceptionally high standards from innkeepers, the law sought to at least minimize inter-class contact.

As Maryland's population increased, previous laws encouraging ordinary keeping through subsidies proved ineffective. Many city dwellers who had a limited amount of space but were interested in taking advantage of the growing number of travelers complained that the start-up costs were too high and succeeded in getting the minimums reduced. The compromise, however, required that the ordinary keepers:

> [S]hall not Entertaine any Freeman or other Loose person above 24 hours in their house unless such person be capable to give his Vote for a Delegate in the said County or that they be retained as a Servant to the said Ordinary keeper or Innholder.

Since only landholders could vote, this seems directed at the lower classes, but it also is implicitly directed at runaway servants and at keeping new ordinaries generally free of riffraff. It acted as a guarantee that a gentlemen would not have to share his bed or take his meals with a "loose" person. Further, it was likely enacted to discourage tippling houses by allowing one-night accommodations for all travelers.

While people of all classes were attracted to inn holding as a reliable source of income, they were also drawn by the status-improving potential that could be realized by running a successful ordinary. One aspect of Colonial living that had made itself clear by the end of the 17th century was that making oneself indispensable to merchants and planters was tantamount to entering the nobility. Further, an ingenious person could generate an opportunity to make himself indispensable by creating demand rather than reacting to it.

Richard Hill was one of the latter. In the fall of 1700, when he took to bed for the last time (probably under the care of his servants in his own ordinary), Hill no doubt took pleasure in the small part he played in promoting Ann Arundel's growth into what would become the state capital. It was hardly imaginable that 30 years beforehand Annapolis was underdeveloped enough to need special permission to have an ordinary away from court. Even though the Annapolis of Hill's old age barely resembled the Ann Arundel of his youth, it is likely that as he looked upon it for the last time, it looked as he has always hoped it would.

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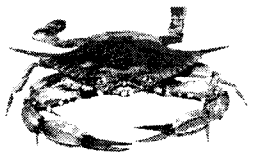
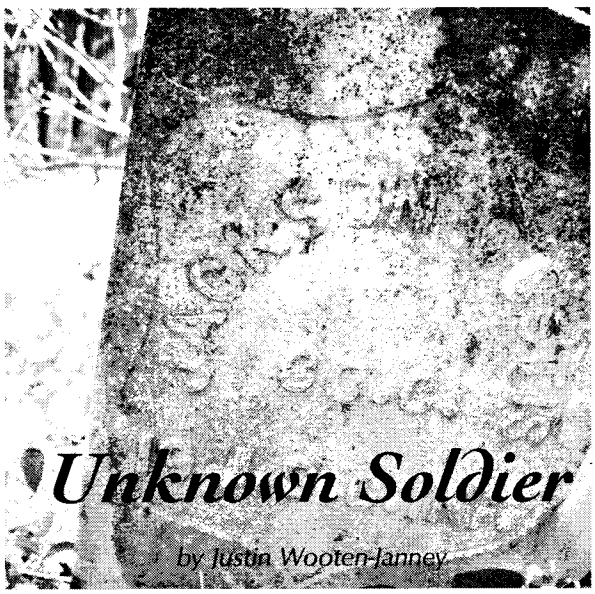


Life on the Chesapeake



Unknown Soldier

by Justin Wooten-Janney

A few years ago, the grave of a U.S. Colored Infantry Civil War soldier was found hidden in the woods of Upper Fairmount by Becky Miller, Ed Smith and Phil Goldsburough. Except for a name and a regimental unit number, no other information on this man was carved on the grave stone. With only this scant information, attention then turned to Maryland State Archives and Census records to help dig up some missing pieces to the puzzle. As luck would have it there happened to be quite a bit on this "Unknown Soldier," ranging from a death certificate and military record to numerous listings in several U.S. Census reports.

Jackson Custis is the name inscribed on the grave, written over the abbreviations, CO.C (Company C.) and 19 U.S.C.INF (19 Regiment of the United States Colored Infantry). From running this name through the Maryland Archives, the death certificate for a Jackson Custis was found dated January 1, 1919. It said he was about 77 years old at the time he died, which would make his birth date somewhere around 1842. Other interesting information the certificate includes is: he was born in Maryland, he was widowed, he was last seen alive on Christmas Day (1918) by G.E. Dickinson (the man who signed the certificate) and he died from arteriosclerosis, a disease involving the cardiovascular system that is often referred to as "hardening of the arteries." The date and place of burial were also listed as January 3, 1919, in Upper Fairmount.

In the 1890 Special Census (of surviving soldiers) a Private John Custiss, from Fairmount, was listed as serving in the 19th Maryland Infantry, though no enlistment or discharge dates were available. However, when searching through military records of individual Civil War soldiers, information on Custis's enlistment and discharge dates were discovered. These dates were then compared to similar dates during the 19th Regiment Infantry's Civil War campaign to verify that Jackson indeed served in the regiment. Apparently Custis enlisted in the Union Army on May 14, 1864, and served until January 15, 1867. As marked on his gravestone, Custis fought in the 19th Regiment Infantry, which organized at Camp Stanton in Benedict, MD, (located in Southern Charles County on the Patuxent River) until March 1864 and then moved to Camp Birney, in Baltimore, MD, until April 1864. As implied by the C. in "U.S.C.INF," the 19th Regiment Infantry was composed entirely of African-Americans (hence Colored Infantry) but what it doesn't tell is that the 19th Regiment Infantry was also largely composed of men from Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

After a month of training the infantry attached to the 2nd Brigade, 4th Division, 9th Corps (Army of Potomac), in which they stayed from April to September 1864. The 4th Division was lead by General Ferrero and was composed entirely of colored troops who had never been under fire. For two months, the 4th Division campaigned in Virginia, from the Rapidan River to the James River, guarding trains. It was during this time that they were involved in the Battle of the Wilderness in which the 9th Corps lost 240 troops to death while 1,232 were wounded and 168 went missing. Afterward they joined back up with the Army of the Potomac and spent nine months taking part in siege operations against Petersburg and Richmond, from June 16, 1864, to April 2, 1865.

During the Siege of Petersburg they were involved in several battles, memorable for various victories, defeats and ingenuities. First being the Battle of the Mine Explosion (Union name) or the Battle of the Crater (Confederate name) which took place in Petersburg on July 30, 1864. It was around this time that "trench warfare" (which would become most popular during WWI) was being developed and implemented into the battle plans of both Confederate's and Union's. The digging of the mine is an example of this "ingenuity" thought up on the part of Lt. Col. Henry Pleasants, a mining engineer. Pleasants' plan was to dig a long mine shaft underneath the Confederate lines and detonate a large amount of explosives, both killing and surprising anyone in the Confederate fort above. The following report (dated 1898) comes from Lt. Col. William Fox:

> The Ninth Corps was prominently connected with the siege, by reason of the immense mine which was dug from within and in front of its line. This mine, which was excavated by the 48th Pennsylvania, of Potter's Division, was successfully exploded, but the assault which followed was a failure. During this assault Ferrero's colored regiments went into action and fought well, acquitting themselves creditably; their failure, like that of the white regiments in this affair, resulted from causes outside the regiments themselves. The loss in the Ninth Corps at the mine, was 473 killed, 1646 wounded, 1356 missing; total 3475.

The "failure of the colored regiments" Lt. Col. Fox is referring to was more a failure on the part of commanding generals, Burnside and Meade, than it was on the colored troops themselves. The initial plan after exploding the mine was for Ferrero's colored division to expand the breach in the Confederate line by moving about the edges of the crater. Then two divisions of white troops would arrive and support Ferrero's flanks. However, General Meade cancelled this plan and instead opted to use all white divisions for the attack. A big problem with this change was that the white soldiers were not given a briefing from their commanders and as a result they failed to launch a successful attack, instead moving into the crater itself and becoming "sitting ducks" for the Confederate troops who gathered around the outside of the crater and opened fire. To make things worse, General Burnside ordered Ferrero's colored division to enter the battle, during which time they mistakenly went down into the crater and for the next several hours tried desperately to escape. After the battle was over, the Confederates had lost 1,032 men and the Union had lost 5,300, half of which were from Ferrero's colored division. If there is a bright side to this battle it's that Jackson Custis survived (injury free, according to the 1890 Special Census) and General Burnside was relieved of his command soon afterward.

From August 19-21, 1864, the 9th Corps was involved in the Battle of the Weldon Railroad where 60 men were killed, 315 were wounded and 218 went missing. After this battle, the 9th Corps reorganized into three Divisions, with Ferrero's colored troops now being designated as the 3rd Division. However in December 1864, Ferrero's 3rd Division was detached from the 9th Corps and most of his regiment (including Custis) was sent to the 25th Corps, an Army Corp composed entirely of colored troops. Under the command of Major-General Godfrey Weitzel, the 25th Corps was split into three divisions (under Generals Kautz, Birney and Paine), containing 32 regiments of infantry and one of cavalry.

Here is another excerpt from Lt. Col. William Fox:

> On the 27th of March, 1865, Birney's (2nd) Division accompanied the Army of the James, General Ord's command, on its march from the James River to Hatcher's Run, Kautz' (1st) Division remaining in the defenses of Bermuda Hundred. Birney's Division was present in the fighting at the fall of Petersburg, after which it joined in the

pursuit of Lee's Army, and participated in the closing battle at Clover Hill, April 9th, the day of Lee's surrender.

In the meantime, Kautz' Division accompanied General Weitzel to Richmond, the colored troops of the Twenty-fifth Corps being the first to enter that city. In May 1865, the corps accompanied General Weitzel to Texas, where it joined the Army of Occupation, and remained until January 8, 1966, when the corps was discontinued, it being the last corps mustered out.

The original 19th Regiment Infantry stayed with the Department of Texas on duty at Brownsville and on the Rio Grande until January 15, 1867, when they were all honorable discharged.

After mustering out of the U.S. Military it's unknown whether Custis returned home right away or spent time roaming the country. There are several U.S. Census records that seem to identify Custis, although written as the first name of John instead of Jackson. This certainly would seem reasonable when considering Custis probably used the name John for Census records and Jackson as a military nickname. That would explain why following Custis's death, the name used with the Union Army, Jackson, was engraved on his Army issued tombstone as opposed to John.

The 1880 Census for Somerset County, MD, has a John Custis under the inhabitants of Fairmount. It lists John Custis as 40 years old and head of the household that includes, wife Ann, 38, sons John, Wilson, Garrett and Arriel, ages 16, 11, 4 and 7, respectively. And daughter, Irena, age 8. In the 1900 Census for Somerset County, a John Custis is listed again under the inhabitants of Fairmount. This time only Ann and Irene are listed with John. Their ages are John, 52, Ann, 45, and Irena, 24. John is also listed as being the owner of a farm and coincidentally having the occupation of a farmer. The only other traces of someone who might be John Custis date back to the 1850 Slave Census for the Somerset County. In these listings, there are only two Custis for the entire county and they're in the Dublin No. 7 District (just east of Upper Fairmount). There are no first names for the two Custis's, only their ages, gender and the last name of the family who owned them, Edwards. One Custis is a female, age 50, and the other is male, age 4. It's quite possible that these two people were indeed Jackson and his mother (or grandmother) back before he ever left to go fight for freedom.

Justin Wooten-Janney, an SU English major, interned at the Nabb Center during spring 2005 assisting with writing and editing for *Shoreline*. After graduation, Justin moved back home to begin working.

The Origins of "Dividing Creek": A Search for the Truth

by James E. Jensen

As a central character in the formative years of Somerset County, in the Province of Maryland, Dividing Creek has served as both a navigable waterway and the backdrop for one of the earliest court houses on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Most residents of present Somerset County, 2005, will know of Dividing Creek, yet the origins of so bold a name may never be brought to light. The earliest known reference to "Dividing Creek" is found within a certificate of survey granted to Richard Stevens of Somerset County, planter, regarding his warrant to survey a tract of land containing 300 acres–named "Hilliard's Choice." The original document is found in liber 13, a transcript of liber JJ, 1668-1671, and is found in the records of the Land Office for the Province of Maryland (SR 7355, folio 36), which describes the tract as follows:

> ...lying on the east side of Chesapeake Bay in the county aforesaid in a river called Pocomoake on the northernmost side of the said river in a creek called dividing creek in Nasswatix Neck on the easternmost side of the said creek beginning for breadth at a marked cypress standing near the creek side dividing from the land of William Elgate ...

The choice of the bold word "Dividing" used in the creek's name would suggest that Dividing Creek served as a known natural boundary between two geographically distinct areas. Therefore, with this in mind, the creek likely took the name of "Dividing Creek" because it simply divided the lands of William Elgate from the neighboring tract named "Hilliard's Choice."

At first the name was thought to have referred to a divisional line in the old hundreds or parishes; although, on January 17, 1666/7, Pocomoke Hundred, within which we find Dividing Creek, was laid out as having the Pocomoke River and the easternmost side of Morumsco Creek to Muromsco Dams as its boundaries, and further, that the Parishes, established at a Council for the province on September 30, 1692, later finalized November 22, 1692, in Somerset County's Court (JR 1692-1693, page 154), the four new Parishes had for boundaries the pairing of the then existing eight hundreds. The last pertinent reference to "Dividing Creek" is found in the General Assembly's 1742 creation of Worcester County (AM Vol. XLII, page 428), which utilizes "Dividing Creek" for the first time as a socio-political division for the new county's bounders:

> Beginning at Watkins Point and from thence up Pocomoke Bay to mouth of Pocomoke River, and up and with the said River to mouth of Dividing Creek thence up the westernmost side of the said creek and main branch to the Bridge called Denstones Bridges and from thence West to the main road called Parahawkin Road thence up with the said road to John Caldwell, senior's, saw mill, thence up and with the said road over Cox's Branch to Broad Creek Bridge.

With Dividing Creek never being used as a divisional reference for any of the hundreds, it remains most probable that Dividing Creek served as either a common tract bounder or simply as the central creek dividing Pocomoke Hundred up the middle and not as a political or religious border. The only clues left behind by the Somerset County Court records which reveal Dividing Creek as a significant natural obstacle are found pertaining to the need for at least one bridge to be constructed to facilitate transportation on the main land of either people or goods. The first reference to the construction of a bridge over Dividing Creek (JR 1671-1675, page 67) mentions that on February 2, 1671, Katherine Parker was ordered to supply "twenty five days worke of a sufficient man finding himself meat drink & lodging towards the making a bridge for horse and foote over the deviding Creeke being for a convenient road to the greatest seate of the Indians" as penance for bearing a bastard child. The second reference (JR 1675-1677, page 54) mentions a certain Rachelle Ground as having appeared before the board and acknowledged the fact that she had a bastard child; thus she was ordered to give sufficient security "for an able man with meat & drink to pay twenty five days worke in making of a bridge over the deviding Creeke." These two court orders reflect the specific needs of the early settlers of Somerset County, particularly the need for roads and bridges. Worthy of special note is the reference to Dividing Creek as being an obstacle between the colonists and the main village of the natives in that part of the peninsula–suggesting that the creek may have served as a natural bounder between both the English and the Natives in the years before the creation of the roads, bridges and ferries that would forever alter the landscape of Maryland's Eastern Shore. Perhaps in some dark crawlspace or Courthouse attic an until-now-lost document may surface to shed further light on the obscure origins of the name "Dividing Creek," but until then we can only examine the records known to researchers from these early formative years of Somerset County.

James E. Jensen is the Nabb Center Reading Room coordinator and candidate for an M.A. in history from Salisbury University.

A Journal of Travels from Maryland To Fort Redstone, Spring 1807

by Bill Minish

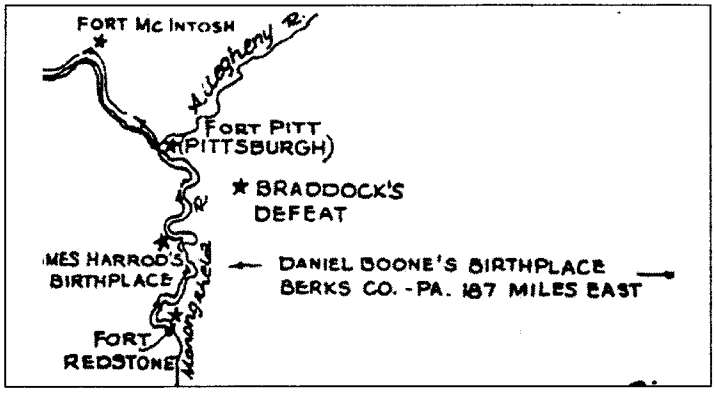
This is an account written in April and early May 1807 by my great-great-grandfather Richard C. Minish detailing the first part of his migration from Somerset County, MD, to Fort Redstone, now Brownsville, PA, some 50 miles south of Pittsburgh on the Monongahela River. The party boarded flatboats there, traveling down that river to Pittsburgh and then down the Ohio River to old Port William, now Carrollton, KY, where they disembarked and settled. Port William is at the junction of the Kentucky River and the Ohio and was an Indian frontier fort during the late 1700s.

The original account is in an old trunk of family papers diligently gathered by William R. Minish Sr., my first cousin, twice removed (1840-1929), that is in possession of his descendents in Kentucky. I was privileged to peruse these papers and photocopy them in 1999. Among the genealogy treasure was the original of this account, written on a single page of paper, folded several times (to fit in a pocket?), a bit stained, but in excellent condition after almost 200 years.

Fort Redstone, the terminus of an old Indian trail known as the Nemacolin Trail, was an ancient earthworks studded with reddish rocks, hence the name Redstone Old Fort. The fort was built by Col. James Burd about 1759 and known as Fort Burd or Redstone Fort. It was a major building center for flatboats taking settlers to new lands down the Ohio River. By traveling up Chesapeake Bay and across southern Pennsylvania the party skirted the difficulties of crossing the Appalachian mountains.

A brief background details that the family had been in Maryland's Eastern Shore two generations back, arriving about 1700, probably from Ulster, Northern Ireland, settling in the small village of Vienna on the Nanticoke River, in Dorchester County. Origins of the family we believe to be "Plantation Scots-Irish," that is Protestant lowland Scots and middle English settled on dispossessed Catholic lands in Ulster during the reigns of Henry VIII, Elizabeth I and James I. Richard, his mother and siblings are listed in the 1776 Census of the Nantacoake Hundred, Dorchester County. As a young man, in Somerset County, MD, he farmed, was a merchant, a teacher and also commanded a vessel on the Chesapeake. He married Ellender (Nelly) Gilliss July 28, 1797, in Somerset County and with her had two surviving sons born in 1798 and 1800. Apparently his business dealings were less than successful and he filed insolvency September 10, 1806, which probably became the motive for the migration to the new lands in the west.

In spring 1807, a party was formed consisting of Richard, Nelly, two sons, George and Ezekiel, and slave girl Aliphar, together with the families Carrico, Waller and Langsdale with the intention of migrating to the new land of Kentucky. Two of Richard's siblings had already gone west, Isaac to Georgia and James to North Carolina. August 1900 family correspondence suggests the group sailed by schooner down the Nanticoke River, up the Chesapeake and up the Patapsco River to Baltimore City, where this journal begins:



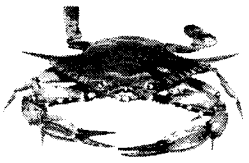
> A Journal of my voyage or travels from Baltimore to Kentucky - Viz. I left B. Saturday 18th April in the Evening Sunday 19th Past Risesters town [Reisterstown, MD] 20th we Past Winchester Town [Westminster, MD] 21st we Came to littles town [Littlestown, PA] 22nd we cross the blue mountains and Past Gattes Burgh [Gettysburg, PA] 23rd we Came to Chambers burgh [Chambersburg, PA] 24th to Commils Town at the foot of the Cove mountain 25th cross the Cove mountain and put up 2 miles the other side of McCollensburgh [McConnellsburg, PA] Sunday 26thwe Crosd sidling hill mountain 27th we Cross Juneatta at Martins ferry and put up at bloody Run 28th we put up 2 miles the other side of Bedford [Bedford, PA] it being 170 miles from Baltimore wensday the 29th we Crossd Dry Ridge 30th we began to Cross the Allageny m and put up Berlin Town [Berlin, PA] Fryday may 1st we traveld about 14 miles Part of the way through as dismal Place of woods Called the Shades of Death 2nd we passd over Correll hill 3rd we traveld about 12 miles 4th we Came through Connellsvill [Connellsville, PA] & Crossd the youghhagany [Youghiogheny River] & went through middle Town 5th we arrive to Redstone Fort

Unfortunately, no account was written or survived that we know of about the flatboat travel from Fort Redstone downriver to Kentucky, which would have been fascinating as well. The "Year 1801" must have been added later to the original by the family and is in error since we know from court records that Richard was in Maryland late in 1806. Nelly evidently died soon after arrival in the frontier river town of Port William, but we have absolutely no further record of her other than indication from Maryland that she sent one letter "from the West" to relatives in Maryland. Whether sent during the migration or from Port William we do not know, it no longer exists.

Richard, widowed with two young sons, married Sarah (Sally) Lester on January 3, 1808, in Port William, then Gallatin County, KY. Sarah was born in Virginia and the daughter of John Lester Sr. of Fairfax County, VA., an early settler in Port William and a sergeant in the First Virginia Regiment of Foot, 1777-1778. Richard and Sarah had 10 children, eight surviving, of which I am descended from the ninth child and youngest son. We have very extensive family history from their marriage on.

A sad end to the saga is that the small, original city cemetery of Carrollton where these people would have been buried along with all the early settlers of Port William, was destroyed by the City of Carrollton in 1880-1890 when expansion of the street system from the old part of the city was undertaken. The old graves were dug up, stones scattered, bones put in old tobacco hogsheads and reburied without records at outlying cemeteries. Thankfully we have state or municipal laws preventing that today!

Bill Minish, resident of Indiana, Nabb Center member and researcher, visited us while retracing the steps of his great-great-grandfather's migration from Somerset County, MD.



The Sinking of the Claud W. Somers

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Buddy Jones was motoring out of the Honga River when he spotted the dredge boat, the *Claud W. Somers*, drifting in Hooper Strait off Sharkfin, Shoal Light. Immediately he knew something was wrong. "We seen them driftin'. No yawl boat down, no sails. Just driftin'," said Jones who suspected Captain Thompson Wallace was having problems. Since Jones's radio didn't work, he steered his workboat, the *Dana Matt* over to the *Claud W. Somers* to see if he could help.

Like many Deal Islanders, Wallace, fifty-five, had an association with dredge boats that spanned thirty-five years. His father and brothers had worked on the middle deck of skipjacks, and when Wallace was in his early twenties, he also starting working aboard the dredge boats. His love for the sail and his skill behind the helm was obvious to Elbert Gladden, who owned a small fleet of skipjacks. Wallace started substituting as a captain on Gladden's boats, and eventually Gladden offered Wallace the helm of the Ida May. For fourteen years, Wallace captained Gladden's skipjack, before buying his own skipjack in 1976.

By the seventies, Captain Thompson Wallace was one of only two black dredge boat captains left on the Chesapeake. The other, Captain Mervin Christy, owned the *Bernice J*, which also worked out of Deal. Earlier in the century, it was not uncommon to find a black at the helm of a skipjack, but the numbers of black captains had dwindled, along with the number of dredge boats still working the oyster rocks. Back in 1916, there were 13 black captains among the 178 men applied for dredging licenses in Somerset County. Sixty years later, blacks still made up a large portion of the crew which worked the middle decks of skipjacks, but few went on to captain and buy their own dredge boats, like Wallace and Christy.

Like most old skipjacks, the *Claud W. Somers* needed some work when Wallace bought her, but he was handy around boats and was able to keep her in good condition. When he left that morning, everything was in working order, said his wife Esther Wallace. Whatever problems he now had with the engine in the yawl boat had developed while out on the water.

"If you got an extra battery, we can get in," remembers Wallace saying when he pulled up along side the skipjack. Jones always carried a spare battery, so he lent it to Wallace, then he drifted beside the skipjack while they tried to start the engine in the push boat. After a few minutes, it became evident that the problem was more serious than a dead battery.

Jones offered to tow him in, but neither man had any heavy tow line on board. Finally Jones found some half-inch-thick line, and they rigged it as a tow line and started toward Deal Island. "We didn't go nowhere before she broke," Jones said of the line. Wallace then rigged up a line but the two vessels didn't get more than a mile before the tow line broke again. "If we'd'a had a good line, we'd'a got him in," Jones said.

The wind had been a moderate ten or twelve knots when Jones came over to help. But a storm was approaching out of the east. It finally hit when they were still four miles out of Deal Island, Jones said. As they struggled on for two more miles, the wind strengthened until it was almost impossible to make any headway.

"Any time you take a boat, hooked to another boat, and you got three hundred horses in her and you can't even budge her, it's had," said Jones. That's when everything started breakin' loose. I had so much gas on her trying to pull...Whatever they hooked to us, it would snap it. It pulled the stern deck loose on my boat. Pulled the snubbing bit right out of my boat," Jones said.

About a mile and a half outside Deal Island, the full force of the storm struck. "When the wind hit us, I don't believe Hazel was blowin' no harder," said Jones, who later heard reports that it had topped seventy-five miles per hour. "The seas were higher than that building: twelve-twenty feet and I was only in a thirty-eight-foot boat."

Jones knew that towing into such a powerful wind was taking a toll on his own equipment. "My transmission was not all that great; I had trouble keeping oil in her," he said. "It was cold and everybody was scared to death... . I know I was. I asked them to come aboard me, that way I knew I could get them in. They were all standing by the mast. None of them would come aboard. I guess they figured that their big boat had more of a chance than I did. But we had the power to get in with. He was trying to save his boat," Jones believes.

Wallace's crew was largely family. On board were his brother, George, sixty-four; a nephew, Carter Wallace, thirty-three; Thomas James, who was a cousin of his wife, Esther; and another crewman, Levine Johnson, who was not related. One of Wallace's sons, Gerald, twenty-three, a navy serviceman on leave, was also aboard. "He happened to be home that day and he was used to following his father," said Esther Wallace of her son. "Nobody was expecting him to go," Mrs. Wallace said, but Gerald enjoyed spending time with his father on the water, so he decided that morning to go dredging with him. "Ever since he was a little boy, he loved to follow his father," Mrs. Wallace recalled.

The day had started out dreary and overcast, but not threatening. The weather forecasts had called for winds in the afternoon, but nothing like what the *Claud W. Somers* and her crew were experiencing now. When the skipjack broke loose for the fourth time, Jones couldn't get his workboat around without sinking her. "If we'd tried to turn around, we'd'a capsized," he said.

The two captains were hollering back and forth o'er the wind and rain. "I'll see you boys," Wallace called to Jones as the boats separated for the last time. "And that was the last time I seen 'em," Jones said.

The fifteen-foot seas were tossing the boats about so badly that when the *Claud W. Somers* came about, "she fell over on the starboard side, and I could see the port side of her [bottom] just as good as I can see this boat now." But she didn't capsize.

When she broke loose the last time, "she was moving away from us so fast, she was flyin' away from us. When she started back to go with the seas, he heisted the jib so he could handle her," Jones said. The wind was blowing from the east, and Wallace and his crew were being carried west toward the Chesapeake Bay. But there was an almost solid line of islands and shoal water between Tangier Sound–where the two boats separated–and the open waters of the Bay. As Jones steered the *Dan Matt* toward Deal Island he held out hope that Wallace would beach the boat on Bloodsworth Island or Sharkfin Shoals, and save himself and his crew.

The trip across Tangier Sound was so rough that, at times, Jones wondered if even he would get back into port. Jones and his crewman, Reggie Morgan, had been tonging for oysters in the Hlonga River that day and had about fifty bushels on deck. Now they shoveled many of the oysters overboard to keep from sinking. "We couldn't see Deal Island...the seas, the spray and the rain were so bad. We had to steer by compass. It looked like a real downpour, so thick you couldn't see."

When they reached the harbor, there were at least a hundred people waiting on shore to see who had made it in. The Department of Natural Resources Police boat was also there at the dock, and Jones went over to tell the officer about the plight of the *Claud W. Somers*.

"We offered to go back out with them," said Jones who believed that quick response could have saved the crew.

When the high winds subsided, the police boat did go out, but it was too late. All six men died when the *Claud W. Somers* sunk in fifteen feet of water in Hooper Strait.

"From where she sank, I think he was trying to get to shore with her. I think he was trying to go somewhere near Hooper Strait," Jones guesses. When you do all you can do, sometimes you can't do no more," said Jones who, fifteen years later, is still haunted by the memory of that awful day.

Christopher Nutter and the Nanticoke Indians

by Jeffrey W. Hatfield

When settlers first arrived on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, they soon learned that they were not alone. Several Indian tribes were already living in the area, leaving the new government with two choices: either live peaceably with the native population or risk an all-out war.

Despite what seems to have been sincere efforts on the part of the authorities to safeguard the interest of the natives, friction was still present between the Nanticoke Indians and the English settlers. Ambitious white settlers and unscrupulous traders disregarded the laws and acted independently to further their own selfish interests. The Indians, aggravated by the actions of the whites, retaliated in their own defense, thus provoking continual unrest and mutual suspicion.

On occasion, the Nanticoke were blamed for mischief that they did not commit, for the whites could not readily distinguish the warriors of one tribe from another. In 1671, the Nanticoke emperor was confronted concerning recent acts committed by Indians dressed in war paint. Emperor Unnacokasimmon denied that any of his subjects had recently appeared in war paint and that his people had made no threats against the English. Unnacokasimmon also stated that he had strictly ordered his subjects to lay down their arms and hold up their hands tied with a white cloth when they approached an Englishman's plantation. This would identify his people as friendly Nanticokes, and if any Indians presented themselves in any other way, the whites had his permission to kill them.

In 1677, an Indian attack was made against a settler in Somerset County, MD, killing the owner and members of his family. Colonel William Burgess was commissioned by the government to apprehend the Indian murderers. If the murderers were not surrendered, Burgess had the authority to threaten war against all Eastern Shore Indians. The emperor, realizing that the English were angry, sent two Indians to be sacrificed in order to appease the government. One of the Nanticokes surrendered to the English informed on two other Indians who had perpetrated the deed. These two were eventually turned over to the authorities. The fact that the emperor was willing to sacrifice innocent Indians to appease the English showed the high regard he held for peace.

Perhaps the best evidence of the willingness of the Maryland provincial authorities to protect the Indians' rights is found in the legislation authorizing reservations for the natives. This became necessary as the white settlers increased in numbers and moved closer to the Indians, gradually depriving them of their lands. Continual friction ensued, and with access to his hunting grounds prohibited by white tenants, the Indian was deprived of sources of food and clothing. On March 13, 1678, the Lord Proprietor issued a proclamation locating some of the Indian settlements on the Eastern Shore, and forbidding all colonists from building their homes within three miles of any of these places.

In 1684, a commission headed by Colonel William Stevens and Christopher Nutter, the Indian interpreter, was appointed by the Lord Proprietor to lay out a tract of land as a reservation for the Nanticoke Indians at the existing Indian town on the Nanticoke River called Chicone (present day Vienna, Dorchester County, MD). The Indians were supposed to pay the Maryland government a yearly rent of one beaver pelt for the land.

On October 26, 1686, the Lower House of the General Assembly passed a bill providing for the payment of certain quantities of tobacco to persons whom it was due and to Christopher Nutter 2,000 pounds. One member proposed that Nutter receive at least 9,000 pounds, as 2,000 pounds would not likely reimburse Nutter's loss of time and services rendered as interpreter. On December 8, 1688, the Upper House allowed Christopher Nutter 4,000 pounds of tobacco and liberty to make out his further claim at the next assembly.

In 1687, Ahoperoon became the new emperor of the Nanticokes. That year, a Nanticoke Indian was killed on the Maryland mainland. Evidently, three white settlers were responsible for the Indian's death, and Ahoperoon, under pressure from the anti-English faction of his tribe, insisted that the three assailants be delivered to him at Chicone to be punished. This caused additional friction between the whites and the Indians. Under no circumstances would the Council agree to have a white colonist, regardless of the crime, turned over to the Indians to be tried.

Colonel Stevens was instructed to assure the emperor that the three men would be required to stand trial, and that Ahoperoon and some of his great men were welcome to attend the court proceedings. Colonel Stevens selected Colonel William Coulbourne, former high sheriff of Somerset County, and Francis Jenkins, then the current sheriff, as members of the commission along with Christopher Nutter and his assistant John Mallet as Indian interpreters. The importance of the meeting is indicated by the fact that two Indian interpreters were included to guarantee precise translations. The Indian delegation included Ahoperoon and six of his great men.

After many matters were discussed in the slow and tedious process of having the English language translated into Algonkian for the benefit of the Indians, and then having their replies translated into English, Ahoperoon and his associates were willing to renew the peace treaty with the English. It was agreed that 30 days later, Ahoperoon and 10 of his great men would be permitted to cross the Bay to St. Mary's to meet with the governor. Colonel Stevens and the two interpreters, Nutter and Mallet, would accompany them. On September 14, 1687, Ahoperoon and three of his men appeared before the Council at St. Mary's in a "friendly" manner, together with Colonel Stevens and Christopher Nutter.

Apparently, through his dealings with Ahoperoon and the Nanticoke Indians, Christopher Nutter was gaining their respect and trust. When another incident arose, this time two Indians killing a white planter and severely wounding two others, Sheriff Francis Jenkins once again required the skills of Christopher Nutter.

Jenkins was ordered to acquaint Ahoperoon with what had happened. He was also to remind the Nanticoke emperor of the terms of the peace treaty which required the accused Indians to be turned over to the Maryland authorities for trial and sentencing. Ahoperoon conceded through Christopher Nutter that the Indians responsible belonged to his tribe and had wished that the English had seized them, since they had now fled. The accused Indians later returned, either by choice or by force issued by the emperor, and were turned over to the Maryland authorities.

In late 1688, it was Ahoperoon's turn again to file a complaint. The emperor stated that various outrages and abuses were committed by several English people against him and his people. Although he did not specify the nature of the acts, the complaint, translated by Christopher Nutter, brought prompt action. The council responded by writing the commissioners stating that neither his Lordship nor the Council would permit the Nanticokes to be in the least molested and that no offender should be allowed to go unpunished. It appeared that the Council was trying to live up to the treaty obligations with the Nanticokes.

The Nanticokes made their first post-survey complaint about English encroachment in 1698. They complained that Colonel Charles Hutchins, Nehemiah Covington Jr., John Hans and Christopher Nutter had each built a plantation on their lands. Nehemiah Covington, like Christopher Nutter, was a long-established Eastern Shore Indian trader and officially designated Indian interpreter. Neither Covington nor Nutter seems to have been trying to remove the Nanticokes from Chicone, but the Indians

may have felt that the two Englishmen were getting too close to their core territory and were attempting to exert too much influence on the tribe. Christopher Nutter's purchase of "Hansel" in 1693 seems to have represented an attempt on his part to take Thomas Taylor's place as the Nanticoke's principal English contact.

The 1702/03 probate inventory of Christopher Nutter's estate indicates that he was actively involved in the Indian trade up to the time of his death. The inventory lists large quantities of commodities like guns and cloth that were typical trade goods, as well as furs and 29 Indian bowls, the largest number of such bowls in any recorded Eastern Shore inventory. There can be no real doubt that Nutter's main trading partners were the Indians at Chicone.

Christopher Nutter's death seems to have destabilized Nanticoke-English relations for a time, and it probably also contributed to an internal Nanticoke political crisis. Nutter's emergence as the tribe's principal English contact had coincided with the 1693 appointment of Panquash and Annatoughquan as the joint leaders of the Nanticokes, and his death coincided with the re-emergence of Ashquash, the son of the 17th century emperor, Unnarocassimon. Nutter's death probably made Chicone more vulnerable to encroachment, since no Englishman of comparable stature took over his role as a patron of the Chicone Nanticokes. Powerful merchant-planters like Christopher Nutter may have taken economic advantage of the Indians, but at least they could ensure that other, lesser men in the neighborhood did not harass their trading partners. Without the protection of such a patron, the Chicone Nanticokes were increasingly vulnerable to all sorts of predatory acts.

An example of this came in 1721, after the heirs of Christopher Nutter sold their grant for the Hansel tract to a Dorchester planter named John Ryder. Ryder almost immediately tried to seize the 700 acres of Hansel, including the site of the former Nanticoke Fort among whose inhabitants was William Ashquash, the son of the Nanticoke leader Ashquash. Ryder burned Ashquash's cabin and destroyed his fences, claiming that the Indians had abandoned their land. In their complaint to the English authorities, the Nanticokes stated that they had temporarily left that part of the reservation to go hunting. The Maryland government sided with the Nanticokes and Ryder was ordered off the land. William Ashquash apparently soon left Chicone and moved to the Choptank Reservation.

In 1744, the Nanticokes requested permission from the Maryland government to "remove to the Six Nations" and agreed to live wherever the Six Nations should appoint, a clear indication that they were accepting tributary status under the Iroquois. By 1761, the total number of Nanticokes living on reservations had dropped to only 120 individuals, and soon afterward, only a handful of Nanticokes remained, many blending in with the local population, losing their identity as a tribe for centuries.

Jeffrey Hatfield is a past member of the Nabb Research Center's Board of Directors, researcher and Delaware resident.

Shadowgraphs of Somerset

by Jack Culver

Schooners, Skipjacks, Bugeyes, Sloops, and Crabbing Skiffs are being groomed by Somerset County watermen in preparations for the annual Chesapeake Bay Championship workboat Races, to be held next Saturday, June 21, off St. Mary's County.

The approaching workboat races recalls to those living in Somerset's tidewater sections, tales of vessels and mariners of sixty years ago, long before annual workboat races came in style.

There were several fine vessels plying the tidewater sections of Somerset back in 1870, carrying freight from this county to ports along the Chesapeake. And a few of those old vessels can still be seen today, beached high and dry with rotted timbers along tidewater Somerset county shores.

William A. Muir, Isaac Lawson, and Noah C. Sterling were Crisfield's outstanding mariners sixty years ago. There were others of course. Hopewell, too, had its sea captains in B.F. Stevenson, John F. Lawson, John H. Miles, Benjamin F. Dougherty, William T. Dougherty, S.H. Bradshaw and John P. Bradshaw.

Captain William Baker lived at Rock Creek, Dames Quarter District in those days and plied a profitable freighting trade with his vessel known as "Four Brothers."

At Marion Station, Captain William D. Howeth lived the life of a mariner. In Lower Fairmount there were Hance L. Parks, B.H. Leach, Elias Howarth, S.S. Ford, and Samuel W. Beauchamp. And what fine and trim looking ships they owned.

Of course, Upper Fairmount wasn't to be overlooked for it had leading mariners in John C. White, William E. Muir, William T. Ford, and H.F. Chelton. Just a few miles away near Manokin lived Captains A.W. Bozman and R.E. Landon whose vessels were docked on back Creek.

Down Revell's Neck, then known as Reed's Neck, near Clifton, lived Capt. E.W. Milligan and Capt. George R. Bozman. Across the Manokin River in Champ section was Captain J.W. Tyler, Captain William A. Price lived up around Little Monie Creek, near Venton.

Two trim looking schooners called Mt. Vernon their home in those days and were owned and captained by Thos. P. Simpkins, Chas. E.S. White. Edw. Shores and Severn T. Laird sailed bay waters carrying the colors of Monie and vicinity.

The schooner "Mary Lena" owned by Capt. William H. Todd, of Dames Quarter was a familiar figure on bay waters in those days. Dames Quarter was also the home port for Captains John D. Scott, Jr., Charles M. Simpkins and William H. Carew.

Chance, just across the bridge from Deals Island, was justly proud of the achievements of the schooner, "L. Virginia" which sailed bay ports with Captain Manheim W. Todd at the helm.

And Deals Island was a veritable haven for vessels of all descriptions. Sloops and schooners were outstanding craft on the Island in 1870. Among the leading schooners were the "Caroline" owned by Capt. George A. Gibson; the "Lizzie D. Edgerton" and "William McDaniel" owned by Captain John D. Wilson.

Deals Island had four outstanding Sloops too, back in 1870. Capt. Henry C. Todd owned the sloop "William L. Ellis"; the "Oswald Bertie" was owned by Capt. George W. Windsor; the "Mary Schulz" by Capt. R.J. Cooksey, while Capt. John A. Messick owned and piloted the sloop "Nomini."

What a splendid sight it would be if these Somerset ships of grandfather's day could again sail the Chesapeake in ghostly array, with their skippers, at the annual workboat races next Saturday.

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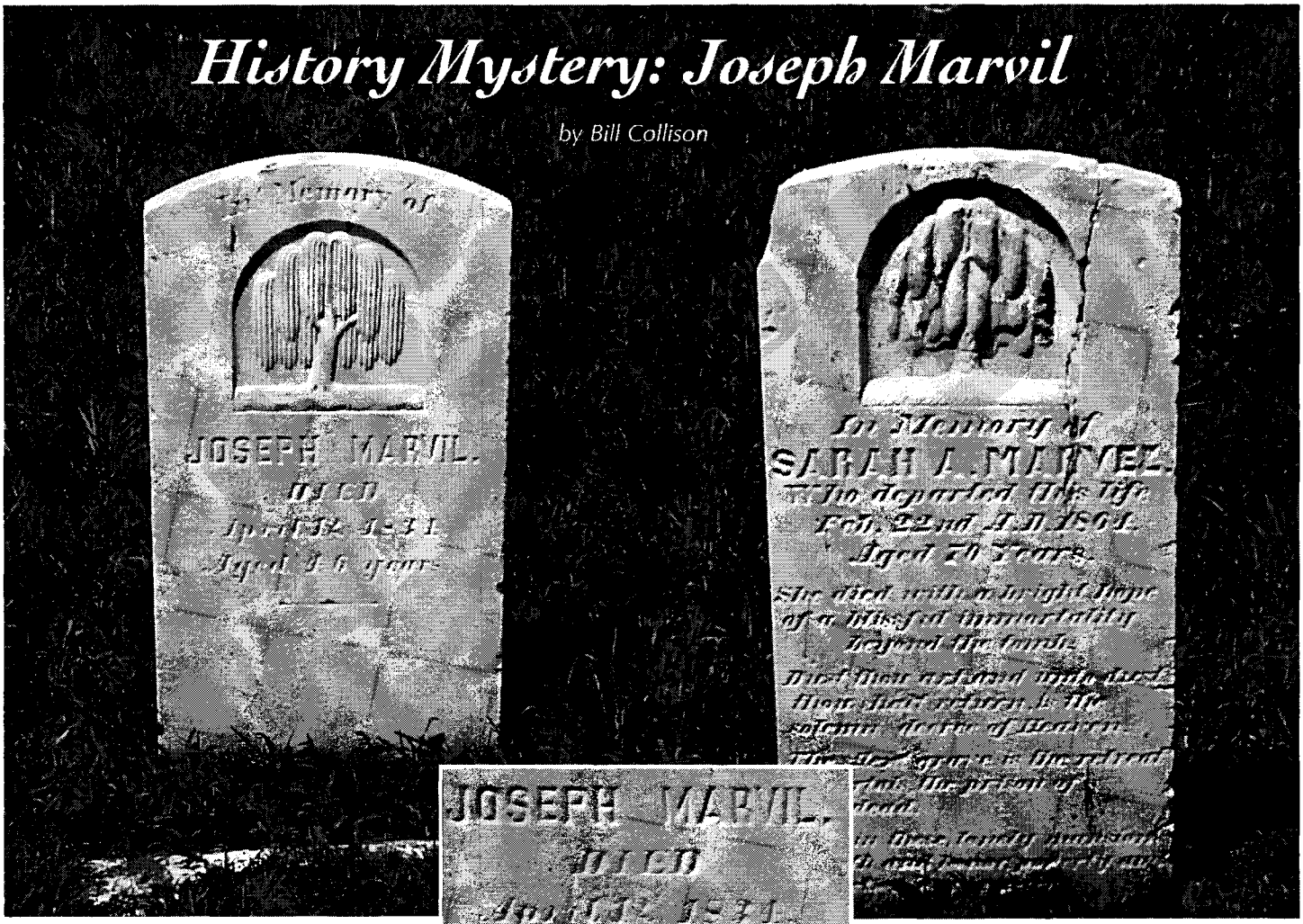
History Mystery: Joseph Marvil

by Bill Collison



Who is Joseph Marvil and why was he buried in a church cemetery 20 years prior to the church formation?

Mt. Zion United Methodist Church is located in Broad Creek Hundred, Delaware, on Seaford Highway (13A), midway between Seaford and Laurel, DE. Mt. Zion is a continuation of the Elzey Moore Meeting-House, organized in 1809 and was located one mile south of the present church.

As part of an endeavor in recording the church history, the old cemetery located behind the church was transcribed and a restoration project is ongoing. Typical with any old cemetery, several tombstones had fallen and were partially or completely buried. One such tombstone was of Joseph Marvil who died April 12, 1834, of drowning, age 46 years.

Millard Hudson's Cemetery Records of Sussex County, DE, recorded in 1929, exclude the tombstone of Joseph Marvil. The Hudson records do include Joseph's wife, who he married in 1815, Sarah A. (Hopkins) Marvel died February 22, 1864, age 70 years. Further probing revealed the tombstone of Sarah, next to her husband, and both stones are now respectfully marking their final resting place. Due to the absence of Hudson's recording of Joseph would indicate his stone had fallen prior to 1929.

Joseph and Sarah were the parents of Delaware Governor Joshua Hopkins Marvil, elected in 1894, serving a mere three months then dying in office. Joshua was also founder of the Marvil Packing Company, a prosperous enterprise manufacturing baskets and crates for agricultural interests.

The question still remained why Joseph was buried in a cemetery 20 years prior to formation. Initial thoughts indicated Joseph could be buried on his or Sarah's family property. Joseph was a farmer in Little Creek Hundred and by 1830 had relocated a short distance into Broad Creek Hundred. Their farm along with Sarah's parents farm were located one to two miles from the church's location and north of Laurel. William Wheatley donated the church property in 1853. Previous owners include Elijah Coulbourne, Caleb Ross (father of another Delaware Governor William Ross) and Kendall Coulbourne. No evidence of any relationship with Joseph and Sarah through these landowners exists. All indications conclude Joseph was reinterred around the time of Sarah's burial.

The tombstone of Joseph remains in immaculate condition, preserved by escaping the elements for an extended period. The condition of Sarah's stone is also excellent excepting a small crack. Both are similar containing a weeping willow but differ slightly in size and style. The more common spelling of Sarah's surname was inscribed, Marvel rather than Marvil.

In addition to Governor Joshua Hopkins Marvil, other children include William, Washington, Nancy, Martha and James. James was a trustee of Mt. Zion in 1888 further connecting the family to the church and cemetery.

How many other souls and possibly our forebears are interred in a marked grave to unfortunately sustain the same fate as Joseph and Sarah? Perhaps some dignity has been instilled upon their eternal resting place.

Bill Collison, Delaware resident, Nabb Center member and volunteer, continually researches the history of the Eastern Shore.

New Acquisitions

Matthew Marine Microfilm Collection

Nabb member Carolyn Adkins, resident of Mardela Springs, MD, has recently made a donation for the purpose of having the Marine Family Ledgers microfilmed. This material is now accessible to the public at the Nabb Center and will surely prove to be useful for genealogists and historians alike.

The collection of Matthew Marine (1777-1854) contains six boxes of account books, the originals of which are housed at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore. It is believed that this material was collected by William Matthew Marine and given to the Maryland Historical Society by Harriet Perkins Marine.

The Matthew Marine Collection contains various account books which date from 1822-1870. The bulk of the material falls between the period of 1830-1854.

The collection is made up of account books, ledgers and day books. This material focuses on the merchant and banking aspect of Matthew Marine's career, but only casual mention is made of two schooners he built.

Thanks to the generous donation, another chapter of Eastern Shore history has been preserved and made available for future study.

Spotlight on Collections

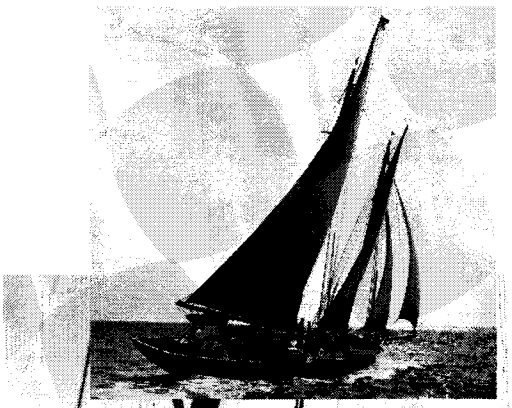
Salisbury Marine Construction Company

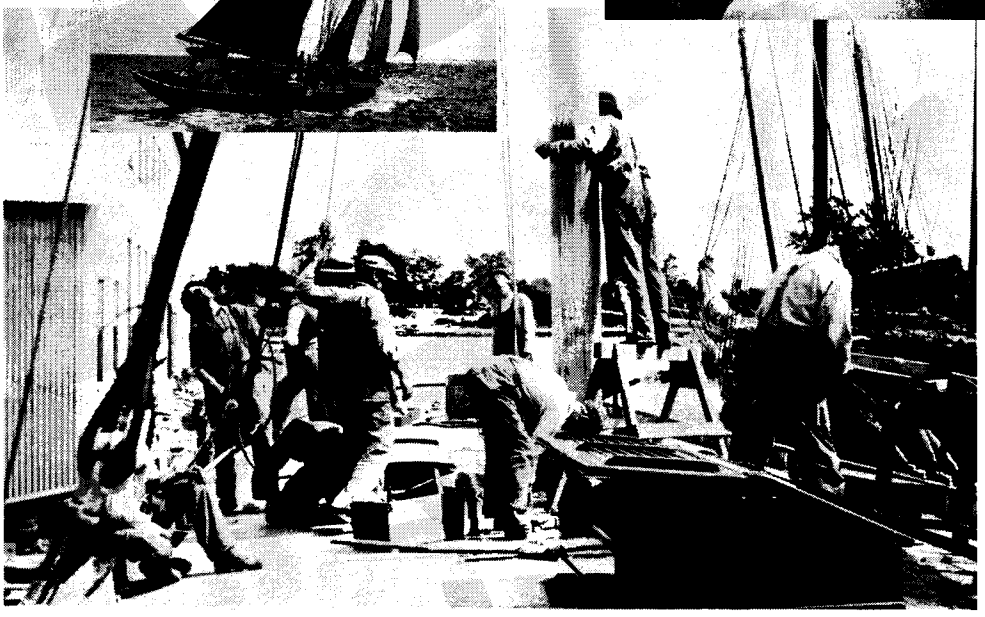
by Simone Myree

The spotlight this month is on the Salisbury ship-building industry, specifically the Salisbury Marine Construction Company. The company went on to acquire the Salisbury Marine Railway Company making it the largest ship-building plant in the United States south of New York. The facility was state of the art, employing 100 skilled tradesmen and working with the leading Naval architects and noted yachtsmen along the East Coast. Together they specialized in repair work, customization and building high-end yachts and commercial vessels taking orders from as far as Europe. Many of the vessels created by the company would go on to be commissioned by the Navy in World War I.

This unique collection of over 100 photos, newspaper clippings and objects portrays the day-to-day life at this company on the water including working conditions and technology, examples of fine craftsmanship and the beautiful finished products, and the progressive managerial stance toward its employees and the growth of the company.

The items were once the property of the Louis J. Costa, general manager for the Salisbury Marine Construction Company. Just stop by the Center and ask for the Peg Lauridsen Collection to learn more about this month's spotlight collection.

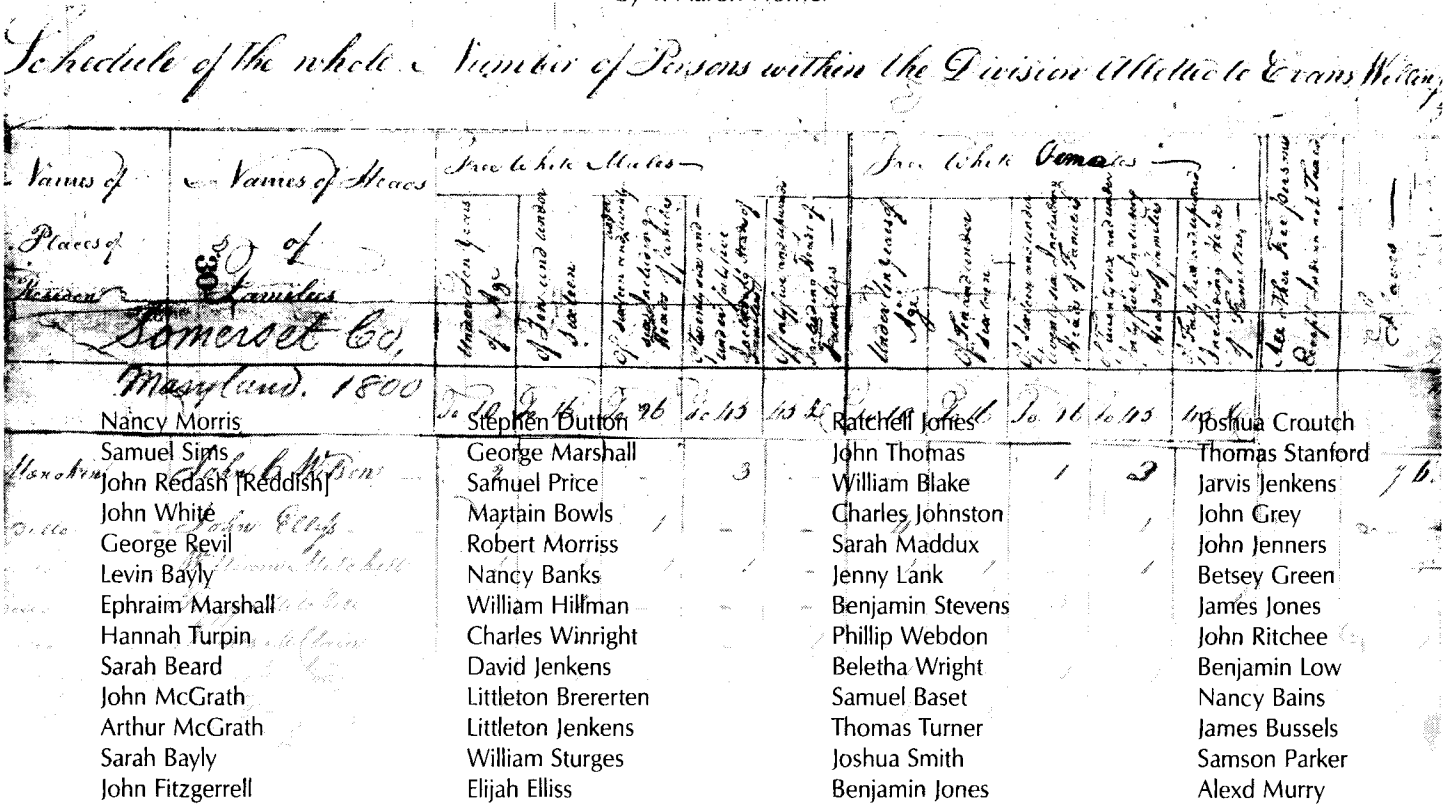




Simone Myree, Nabb Center archivist, is dedicated to the Center's goal of properly preserving the past.

Reading Between the Lines: The 1800 Census for Somerset County

by T. Aaron Horner


Schedule of the whole Number of Persons within the Division Allotted to Evans Wilson

Names of Persons — Somerset Co. Maryland. 1800

Nancy Morris	Stephen Dutton	Ratchell Jones	Joshua Croutch
Samuel Sims	George Marshall	John Thomas	Thomas Stanford
John Redash [Reddish]	Samuel Price	William Blake	Jarvis Jenkens
John White	Martain Bowls	Charles Johnston	John Grey
George Revil	Robert Morriss	Sarah Maddux	John Jenners
Levin Bayly	Nancy Banks	Jenny Lank	Betsey Green
Ephraim Marshall	William Hillman	Benjamin Stevens	James Jones
Hannah Turpin	Charles Winright	Phillip Webdon	John Ritchee
Sarah Beard	David Jenkens	Beletha Wright	Benjamin Low
John McGrath	Littleton Brererten	Samuel Baset	Nancy Bains
Arthur McGrath	Littleton Jenkens	Thomas Turner	James Bussels
Sarah Bayly	William Sturges	Joshua Smith	Samson Parker
John Fitzgerrell	Elijah Elliss	Benjamin Jones	Alexd Murry

The dilemma many researchers face is the accuracy of the information they seek. For many, their answers are often from secondary sources. So often we accept the record for what it says, whether it is the ink on the paper or a word carved into stone. Logically, if the answer is not there, then we move on to another record. However, if the answer was there all along, then how did we miss it? Obviously, the accuracy of those records can be called into question at times. In certain situations, there can be an error in the primary source that can make the reliability of secondary sources even more questionable. Human error will always be an element in any documentation one examines. A great example of this situation occurred recently with the 1800 Census for Somerset County.

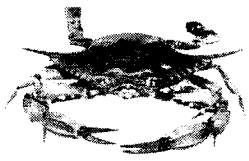
In the late 1950s, a transcription of the 1800 Census for Somerset County was completed. Using the microfilm provided by the National Archives, the transcriber sorted the heads of household alphabetically. Prior to the 1850 Census, only the heads of household were listed by name, thus an alphabetization, to some researchers, would make sense. However, an examination of the census from the microfilm indicates that 263 names were left off the original transcription. Also, an alphabetization would not indicate neighboring household based on visitation by the census taker. Recently, I've discovered that when the National Archives microfilmed the 1800 Census for Somerset County, they missed filming page 51. A typical page contains two half sheets, each numbered to the left, with the typed page number at the bottom left corner. There are approximately 52 heads of household on each page. At the bottom of the page, each column is totaled and the new total (for each column) is carried over to the top of the next page. It was possible that the pagination may have excluded a page 51; however, the totals at the bottom of page 50 did not match the top of page 52. Also the pagination for each half sheet jumped from 41 to 44. In essence, with the microfilm missing an entire page, the original transcription now has over 300 heads of household unaccounted! This page alone contained 332 individuals (whites, free blacks and slaves).

This past May, Peggy Genvert, a history lecturer at Salisbury University and vice chair of the Nabb Research Center's Board of Directors, visited the National Archives in Washington, D.C., to conduct primary research for her new class Mysterious Chesapeake Settlers. With the information in hand, she presented the recent finding to the Archives, and upon viewing the original census, saw that they had indeed inadvertently skipped the missing page during the filming. The Archives scanned the page and when she returned, she presented a copy to the Nabb Research Center.

The major problem with secondary sources is the interpretation of the transcriber that often leads to misspelling of words. However, in the case with the 1800 Census for Somerset County, it was not so much the spelling of names, but the lack of names. To make the problem worse, the medium to preserve this document was also at fault as an entire page went missing. Thus, it is important to read and examine all records thoroughly and carefully, not only the secondary sources, but the primary ones as well.

Listed below are the missing names. All households were in Wicomico Hundred, in particular, the area from around Siloam up towards Salisbury Town. Again, a copy of the missing page is available at the Nabb Research Center for viewing.

T. Aaron Horner, Nabb Center research assistant and SU alumnus, specializes in both geography and history with an interest in the Eastern Shore.



1742 Conspiracy

by Jason Illari

Some of our readers may be surprised to find out that by 1742, colonists on the Eastern Shore of Maryland faced a significant threat that could have drastically changed the fortunes of Delmarva during the closing decades of the 18th century. On June 22, 1742, Mr. J. Ennals, a Dorchester county official, wrote a letter to the governor of Maryland stating that the Indians of the Chicone, Choptank and Nanticoke reservations had abandoned their towns.* Through informants, Ennals learned that these Indians were gathered at "Pocomoke Swamp at a Place called Winnasoccum," supposedly to hunt. He believed, however, that their true purpose in meeting was to plan an attack on the colonists on the Eastern Shore. Ennals was directed by the governor to bring the Indian chiefs associated with the Winnasoccum gathering to Annapolis for questioning if he detected any suspicious activity. Obviously, Ennals, already prepared to take action, arranged to have 20 of the suspected Indians brought to Annapolis for interrogation. The following testimony, and most detailed account, was given by a Choptank Indian named Jemmy Smalhommony:

> ... there was an Agreemt made between some Indians that came from Shawan, being 23 in Number, and the several Nations of Our own Indians to rise and cut off the English [...] to be assisted with 500 of the Shawan & Northern Indians, and about the same time the French with the Assistance of other Indians were to attack the back Inhabitants of Maryland and Pensilvania [...] the several Nations of Our Indians have built a logg'd house about 20 feet long and 15 feet wide in Pocomoke Swamp for a Repository to secure their Arms and Ammunition, and that they now in the said house have several Guns with a with a good deal of Ammunition and a large Quantity of poisoned Arrows pointed with Brass, and [...] they intended to begin the Attack in Somerset and Dorset at several Places in one and the same Night and when they had cut off the English in them two Counties [they planned] to extend their Conquest upwards till they had joined the other Indians and the French. This Deponent further saith the said Indians intended to destroy Man Woman and Child as far as they extended their Conquest.

Out of the 20 Indians present in Annapolis, 15 gave testimony similar to Smalhommony's. The remaining four stated that the purpose of the gathering at the Pocomoke Swamp was to "hunt get skins and chuse an Emperor." Hunting seems to be a plausible reason for the gathering; however, most scholars agree that there would be no need for women, elders and children to join the men in the hunting expedition. Again, Ennals had stated that all of the Indians were missing from the reported towns. The claim of choosing an emperor, though not entirely without merit, was probably unlikely due to the fact that the practice of emperorship amongst Native Americans had diminished prior to 1742. Therefore, can we conclude that the other 16 accounts were accurate and an uprising was in fact scheduled to take place? Perhaps, but further investigation is needed in order to substantiate the Annapolis testimonies.

Helen Rountree, author of *The Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland*, writes that "during the colonial period in eastern North America, close contact between Englishmen and Indian people almost invariably meant conflict, retreat, or assimilation for the native people." An examination of the relations between the colonists and Indians living on the Eastern Shore prior to 1742 will exemplify Rountree's statement and highlight underlying issues which could have caused the Indians to unite and rise up against the English. From the late 17th century to the first half of the 18th century, conflict between colonists and Indians on the Eastern Shore was becoming more and more apparent. Settler encroachment on Indian lands seems to be the prime factor contributing to this rising tension. In the 1660s, English settlers were drawn to the Eastern Shore because free unpatented land was readily available there. However, by the late 1600s and early 1700s, most of the remaining unpatented land was either of poor quality or reserved for Indian settlement. This increased shortage of cultivatable land, coupled with an ever-increasing English population, created an environment ripe for confrontation. Furthermore, Indians used reservation land primarily for hunting and gathering. As English settlers encroached upon the land for farming, Native Americans could no longer use that land for their own livelihood.

Eventually, Native Americans found their way of life nearly impossible to maintain and some came face to face with direct acts of violence that endangered their properties. Rountree states that "the most common serious offense perpetrated by English colonists on the Indians was arson." In 1706, an English colonist burned down the house of a Pocomoke Indian named Machicopah. Another instance involving arson occurred in 1721. A Dorchester planter named John Ryder bought part of a 700-acre tract of land which was inhabited by William Ashquash and several other Nanticoke families. Ryder, upon receiving his parcel of land, became greedy and attempted to seize the entire tract. He then burned down William Ashquash's cabin while the latter was hunting. When questioned about his actions, Ryder claimed that the land was permanently abandoned. The Maryland provincial government did not side with Ryder's claims and he was forced to leave the land he attempted to seize. Government officials also reaffirmed that the Nanticokes had hereditary rights to the reservation.

Despite this seemingly positive outcome, Native Americans living on the Eastern Shore continued to struggle with the problem of land encroachment. Interestingly, to help curtail this continuous problem, one Nanticoke Indian chief and his son followed an English agricultural practice by fencing in their fields–not to assimilate–but to protect their land. By 1721, continued illegal encroachment left many Nanticokes without sufficient land to grow corn, their staple crop. Constant land encroachment together with random acts of violence (mostly arson) caused some Native Americans on the Eastern Shore to move northward into Pennsylvania. According to Rountree, The Five Nations, a conglomerate of Iroquois tribes in Pennsylvania, was "willing to offer refuge to Eastern Shore Indians who chose to leave Maryland, allowing them to resettle on lands in Pennsylvania." This migration in the 1720s/30s, consisting mostly of Pocomoke and Assateagues Indians from the Askiminikansen reservation, is extremely significant for this study. Their migration was instrumental in fostering further communication and connections between tribes on the Eastern Shore and Pennsylvania. Maryland provincial authorities probably suspected this and feared that Indian groups on the Eastern Shore–to quote Rountree, "would make a common cause with the hostile Indians from outside Maryland and join with them in an attack on the colony."

Again, after studying the testimonies of the 20 Indians who were questioned at Annapolis, most of the accounts suggest that the Eastern Shore Indians and Pennsylvania Indians were indeed planning to unite and subvert the English on the Eastern Shore. Sixteen out of the 20 accounts mention at least one of the Pennsylvanian tribes (Shawan, Totra, Seneca, Five Nations or Susquehanna). Three of the Indians who were questioned described how the Seneca Indians obtained a large quantity of weapons to fill the logged cabin at Pocomoke Swamp. According to one account, given by a Nanticoke

Indian named Jacob Pattasahook, "the Seneca Indians were [...] to go to Philadelphia to dispose of some part of their Lands for Arms and Ammunition." Upon hearing the testimony of the Indians who were questioned, the Council of Maryland made the following judgment: "we are fully convinced of your having entered into a Conspiracy to destroy all the white people of this Province contrary to the Treaties made between us."

Further research is needed to find primary sources specifically linking the French to the Eastern Shore uprising. Nevertheless, historians of 18th century Delmarva history can safely assume that a conspiracy had in fact been set in motion prior to 1742. In the final analysis, Rountree states "even though the planned uprising failed before it had properly begun, the 1742 conspiracy still remains the most important collective act of resistance against the English that the Eastern Shore tribes ever made, either in Maryland or in Virginia."

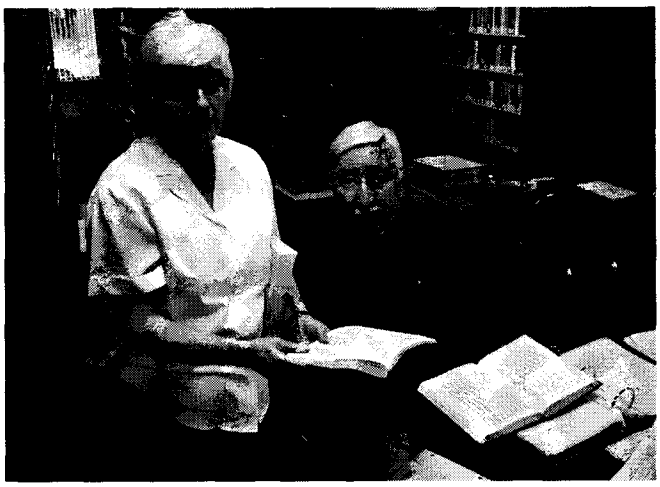
Jason Illari, graduate assistant at the Nabb Center, serves as curator in residence at Poplar Hill Mansion located in Salisbury.

* **Author's Note:** The four major tribes on Maryland's Eastern Shore during the early 18th century lived primarily on three main reservations. The Choptank tribe resided on the southern side the Choptank River (Choptank Reservation), the Nanticoke tribe settled on land at the heart of the Nanticoke River (primarily at a reservation called Chicone), and both the Pocomoke and the Assateague tribes lived near the northeastern region of the Pocomoke River (Askiminikansen reservation).

Visitors

In June of this year both Melinda Gordy Corporon of Kansas and Barbara Gordy Fox of Texas (born in Oklahoma and sisters) visited the Nabb Center for a few days to research their Gordy family history. They discovered that Leonard and Elizabeth Gordy left Delmarva between 1788 and 1792 for Georgia, Hancock County. Their son William went to Alabama and by 1850 William was in Newton County, MI. William Junior's eldest son, John Samuel Gordy, moved his family to Grayson, LA, in Caldwell County. Their grandfather, Dewey Plunhett Gordy, went to Benton, AK, and his son, Travis Leonard Gordy, went to University of Oklahoma.

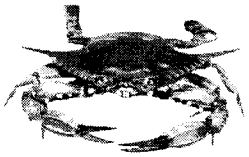
George Riggin, a life-time Nabb Center member from Wisconsin.



Robert Coulbourne of Plano, TX, visited the Nabb Center on March 29 to research his Eastern Shore history. He is pictured with Nabb Center Volunteer Coordinator Pat Taylor.

During the first week of August of this year Gil Kaufman visited the Nabb Center for a few days researching his Maddox and Miller family line on the Eastern Shore. He had this to say about his experience:

We are back home after a very productive visit to the Nabb Research Center and the surrounding countryside.
I wanted to thank you and your staff and volunteers for making the visit particularly productive. Aaron gave me a great start on visiting Fairmount and Maddox' Landing; your regional maps showed roads I never would have found. We made it to all of our target locations, including Delmar, but I must admit that the most useful information gained came from the Nabb references. Bill Collison was extremely helpful that first day, including adding a couple of generations of my Millers, and Jim and Pat gave me a number of unexpected new pieces of information upon our second visit the next day.
So once again, thanks for providing an excellent research resource, one I will continue to support to the extent of my abilities. Please pass along my thanks to everyone.
Regards,
Gil



Murder Outside Princess Anne

by Timothy F. Robinson

An early morning calm on December 13, 1924, abruptly ended when a violent argument erupted between two rural Somerset County residents, Henry "Hicks" Merrill and his step-father Clarence Hitch at Hitch's home. The argument was finished by Merrill when he shot Hitch with a shotgun then fled from the residence, leaving Hitch for dead. Fortunately, Hitch survived the assault and made his way into the town of Princess Anne for help where he sought out the Justice of the Peace and swore out a warrant for Merrill's arrest.

The Justice of the Peace summoned Deputy Sheriff Louis Dryden to the court house and issued the warrant for Merrill's arrest. Setting out to apprehend the armed desperado, Deputy Dryden took Princess Anne's only town officer, Policeman Orrie Carey, with him to help with the round up. The officers headed out into the rural outskirts of the county and confronted the armed Merrill in short order, who still brandished a loaded shotgun, slung over his shoulder. Deputy Dryden drew a revolver on Merrill as the suspect backed up in an apparent attempt to unlimber the shotgun. According to the account of Officer Cary, Deputy Dryden ordered Merrill to lay down his gun and surrender. Instead, Merrill launched himself at Dryden and managed to disarm him and then proceeded to fire one round at the unarmed deputy, from the deputy's own weapon, fatally wounding him. A scuffle ensued as Officer Carey attempted to arrest Merrill who then fired two shots and critically wounded Officer Carey. Henry Merrill was last seen heading toward a nearby swamp with the deputy's revolver.

Officer Carey managed to drag himself about a 100 yards back to the car they had traveled in and drove the five miles back to Princess Anne where he immediately informed the community of the violent assailant on the loose. After summoning help, he was immediately rushed to Peninsula General Hospital in Salisbury.

The manhunt was soon on for the perpetrator of this heinous crime. Carloads of armed men went out to try and round up the criminal who gunned down one of their deputy sheriffs. Somerset County Sheriff Luther Daugherty sent out a call for as much assistance as possible, which resulted in the fire chief sounding the emergency siren which drew "hundreds of men." The roads surrounding the swamp where Merrill was last seen soon were full of armed men on the march. Calls for assistance even stretched outside Princess Anne, and before the end of the day, two bloodhounds had arrived from Norfolk, VA, to aid the track of the wanted desperado. Sheriff Daugherty attempted to lock down the entire Delmarva Peninsula. Police were contacted in locations in Pennsylvania and Delaware where Merrill was known to frequent and the residents of Crisfield and Deal Island were instructed to carefully search all departing ferry boats. Word soon spread up and down the east coast, accompanied by a broadcast of Merrill's description. According to the Marylander and Herald, this was the first incident in this area of a major "be on the lookout" broadcasted by the "modern development" of radio. Accounts were featured in the local paper of broadcasts taking place as far away as Pittsburgh.

The search was to no avail and it was called off at four o'clock in the morning on Monday, December 15. While the exhausted searchers rested and planned their strategy, word came out of the woods that a man resembling Merrill's description wanted to surrender to the authorities, providing that the sheriff came alone. Merrill had passed word though a third party that he was afraid of being hung on the spot by an angry mob and that he would flee again if that is what came for him. Receiving this information, Sheriff Daugherty set out with Deputy Sterling and took Merrill into custody 48 hours after the slaying of Deputy Dryden. Word soon spread of the capture and Sheriff Daugherty placed the deputy's killer in the Wicomico County jail to the north in an effort to prevent an angry mob from taking justice into their own hands. By that same evening, Merrill had been whisked away by the State Police and placed in the Baltimore City Jail. Somerset County law enforcement made every effort to prevent a lynching. Reports appeared in the Marylander and Herald that Merrill had confessed to the slaying and expected to be hung after found guilty.

The community came out in large numbers to honor Deputy Dryden on December 16 at his funeral at the Antioch Methodist Episcopal Church. As the funeral procession wound its way through the streets of Princess Anne, men, women and children all stopped and stood respectfully in honor of the fallen lawman; many of those in attendance had just recently returned from the manhunt for Dryden's killer. Dryden was survived by his wife and five children

The accused's attorney, Gordon Tull, adopted a strategy solely focused on keeping Merrill from the gallows, as guilt was not disputed. Because of the intense local publicity (the murder remained a front page news story for 10 weeks) and the intense manhunt, Tull believed that unmitigated vengeance would be wrought upon his client by a Somerset Court. The *Marylander and Herald's* editor probably helped support that belief with a call for Merrill's immediate execution. Therefore Tull went public and demanded a trial "anywhere but Somerset County." Prudence heard his cries and the case was sent to Dorchester County for trial in February 1925 (a rather quick turn around by modern standards). Two months after the murder, Henry Merrill was found guilty of Murder in the First Degree of Deputy Dryden and Attempted Murder in the First Degree of Policeman Carey and sentenced to life in prison. He was then taken to the penitentiary in Baltimore by Sheriff Dougherty to begin serving his sentence. Shortly after the trial, Officer Carey had recovered sufficiently from his wounds to return to work the first week of March.

Just as it would be today, the slaying of a law enforcement officer in the line of duty spurred a huge media event as evident in the newspapers of 1924. Not much has changed today. They are still leading media stories for the sheer despicable nature of the crime–the slaying of a public servant doing his duty. Deputy Dryden was not the first law enforcement officer to be slain in the line of duty. That is believed to be Chief John Daugherty of the Crisfield Police, who, in 1907, was murdered while escorting a prisoner to the jail. Criminals, desperate to keep their freedom will often resort to any means necessary to further an escape, as evident in 1953, with the slaying of Officer Daniel Bier in Cambridge at a domestic call, in 1958 with the slaying in Salisbury of Officer Henry T. Stephens while walking an arrestee down an alley, in 1968 in Wicomico County with the slaying of Sheriff Samuel Graham and Deputy Albert Kelley in an escape from the County Jail, or in 1995 with the murder of Trooper Ed Plank on a Somerset County Highway. I can tell you from experience, there are not many things sadder than attending the funeral of a police officer gunned down in the line of duty. Unfortunately there will always be criminals in our society prepared to commit the ultimate crime, the murder of a police officer.

Tim Robinson is a deputy sheriff for Wicomico County and a graduate student of Salisbury University.

Editor's Note: Lewis Lester Dryden was born March 17, 1852, the son of Purnell Henry Dryden and Elizabeth Anne Long. Some of Deputy Dryden's grandchildren survive.

The Severn River Massacre

by Vaughn Baker

While reading about the early history of the Chesapeake, I kept finding early Eastern Shore settlers involved in politics on the opposite side of the Bay. I always had to remind myself that the Chesapeake was the large highway that united those first settlers who depended on transport by water.

One such political event was the Battle at Severn River. Tidbits about this under-reported event in the early history of Maryland kept appearing. The period in question was from about 1654 to 1658 when a Parliamentary Commission in London was named to "reduce" the power of Maryland and Virginia. At the time, Maryland's entire population was less than 2,500 Europeans.

A decade earlier, Virginia had been supportive of the Church of England while Maryland was settled by Catholics. The English Civil War erupted when Parliament, primarily composed of Puritans, took on the forces of the king, primarily Church of England. The war ended with the execution of the king and Parliament taking control of the English government. When Parliament became excessive and abused its power, General Oliver Cromwell closed it down and named himself "Lord Protector of England." News of these events in England arrived slowly by ship, frequently out of sequence to how they had unfolded in England.

Textbooks teach that Maryland was a location for religious tolerance, but I doubt that the 10 shackled men waiting their turn to be executed near present-day Annapolis would have concurred. One of those prisoners, the governor of Maryland, William Stone, had already lived in the colonies on the tip of Virginia's Eastern Shore in Northampton County for 20 years. Stone married Verlinda Graves, daughter of the commander of the Eastern Shore. Stone, a Protestant had been appointed by Lord Baltimore in a political attempt to demonstrate that Maryland was tolerant to non-Catholics. Part of Baltimore's apparent agreement with Stone required the new governor to invite settlers clustered around several Puritan settlements in Virginia where they were being pressured by authorities to leave or convert to the Church of England. The largest Puritan settlement was Bennett's Plantation at Isle of Wight in Virginia, where another Northampton resident, Thomas (Ayre) Eyre, had been one of the original officers of Bennett's Plantation. Eyre's father-in-law, John Baker, had been affiliated with William Stone on the Eastern Shore and later lived in Virginia near Thomas Green and Edward Hill. As events unfolded in England, Maryland's Catholic governor went into exile and temporary overseers Edward Hill and Thomas Green of Virginia served one-year stints as overseers of Maryland just before Stone was invited to become Maryland's permanent governor. Thomas Eyre resettled on the Eastern Shore near Stone and became better known as a Quaker organizer in this period of unrest.

Governor Stone was apparently persuasive because from 1649 to 1651, 120 Puritan families migrated to Maryland and settled either near Patuxent River or "Providence" on the newly named "Severn River" in Anne Arundell County. As a group they represented possibly 30-40 percent of the entire population of Maryland. Just after Governor Stone relocated the Virginia Puritans to Maryland, his boss, Lord Baltimore, required they sign the "Act of Toleration," which demanded every male give an "Oath of Fidelity" to Maryland and her officers. The Puritans, now physically relocated in Maryland, were very suspicious of the Calverts and Catholics in general and were troubled with this new requirement.

After Parliament came to power, a special commission was organized to manage the English colonies in Virginia and Maryland, and one of the leaders of that commission was Richard Bennett, whose family had been the investors behind "Bennett's Plantation." Bennett, who began to serve as governor of Virginia after he deposed Virginia Governor William Berkeley, started to receive complaints from the relocated Puritans who were not about to sign the Act of Toleration.

When Oliver Cromwell became Lord Protector of England, Lord Baltimore appealed to Cromwell for support, and Cromwell saw Maryland as an opportunity to appease Catholic sentiment in England. On the shifting sands of this political playing field, an interesting series of events unfolded to which I have only found fragmentary information in multiple publications.

In January 1653, Governor Stone led the Maryland militia to subdue 60 disgruntled armed Puritans at Patuxent River. The Puritans were no competition for Stone's militia, but a new player was making history on the scene of national opinion. The newspaper was just beginning to have mass appeal in England and the Patuxent River crowd wrote a letter about Stone's methods and it was published in London. It created such a turmoil that Stone eventually agreed to step down from office when confronted by the commission charged with the management of Virginia and Maryland.

Lord Baltimore sent an angry letter from London to Stone when he heard that he resigned, and Stone took to heart this letter, reassumed his authority and clamped down hard on troublesome Puritans. His instructions were to insist the Puritans in "Providence" on the Severn River pay past-due taxes and sign Calvert's Oath of Allegiance. Stone seized the Maryland arsenal and then terminated the authority of Robert Brook, a Puritan appointed to head the Maryland governing council. Stone took an even bolder step and formally charged the two key members of Parliament's governing council, William Claiborne and Richard Bennett, with sedition and rebellion against Lord Baltimore. Governor Bennett organized the Virginia militia to march north to Maryland, and Stone was forced to once again stand down as governor of Maryland.

In January 1655, a ship arrived at Saint Mary's City with a messenger, William Eltonhead, who had more correspondence from Lord Baltimore who again took Stone to task, this time for not standing up to Bennett and his Puritans. Stone mustered some of his most loyal friends, both Catholics and Anglican, and recruited some men he had known from Virginia to form a militia of 130 soldiers, possibly more.

Overconfident from his previous encounter with the Puritans and with little strategy, Stone sent a messenger ahead to request that the Puritans simply stand down in a peaceful manner. Stone's militia was still straggling into position when the Puritans in Providence surprised them with two fairly large armed ships, possibly sent by Puritans in New England. The ships began to fire their guns on the men in the boats killing one of Stone's men. Stone retreated and reorganized his troops on the shoreline of Spa's Creek and the next morning marched them under Lord Baltimore's flag against the Puritans. When they were in firing range, Stone gave the command to fire and Lieutenant William Eyre, who was holding the Puritan standard, was killed in the first volley.

The Puritans fired back and Stone's men reformed and again attacked. A fierce fight ensued for over an hour. Stone lost more than 40 men killed, including the secretary of the colony, Thomas Hatton. Only five men escaped. The remainder of Stone's men were held incommunicado and forced to sign over their lands to the Puritans. The next day some men were killed by a firing squad.

Two days later, on Sunday March 28, 1655, the messenger William Eltonhead, William Lewis, John Leggatt and a German friend of Eltonhead, with Governor Stone, Captain John Price, Major Jobe Chandler, Captain Kendall, Captain Gynther and Captain Thomas Gerrard were condemned to death and lined up by a wall to be shot in that order. The first four, including Eltonhead, were killed before cooler heads prevailed and Stone and the other five were spared. The other prisoners were held incommunicado as prisoners

for an extended period and forced to sign over their lands.

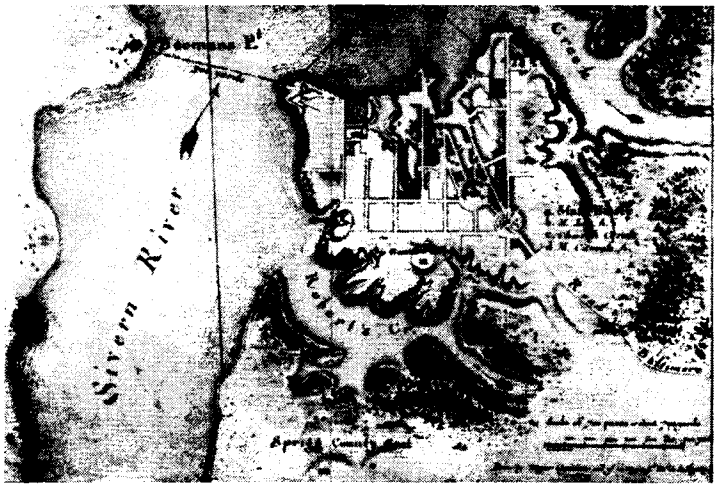
Once the heat of battle subsided, the Severn River Puritans realized that they had murdered over 50 Englishmen, Catholics and Anglicans. They were afraid how the murder of so many English might be received back in England where Oliver Cromwell was already disenchanted with hard-core Puritans. High Sheriff Captain John Norwood, distant cousin to the staunch Royalist Colonel Henry Norwood, was instructed to keep tight control over all his prisoners and control all communication between Maryland and England, while another Puritan leader wrote a pamphlet describing their side of the Severn River battle. Puritan Captain Samuel Tilghman ("Tilghman's Fortune") immediately sailed back to London with the Puritan rendition of the events at Severn River and had it published in all six London newspapers; meanwhile, the deaths of the Marylanders killed were kept secret and not ever recorded in Maryland records.

Secrets are hard to keep and eventually word leaked out when Verlinda [Graves] Stone wrote to Lord Baltimore in England, and when the word subsequently reached Cromwell, he was enraged. Cromwell forced an immediate compromise where Puritans were to cooperate with Lord Calvert's men in Maryland. Stone was released and placed him back on the council, but he had lost effective power and soon retired on the Potomac River.

Was the first Puritan casualty of the battle, Ensign William Eyre, related to one-time Bennett Plantation officer Thomas Eyre from whence so many of the Puritans were recruited? Ironically enough, son Thomas Eyre Junior married Jane Severn, daughter of mariner John Severn. There was also a Captain Kendall who was to be executed with William Stone. Had William Kendall, also of the Eastern Shore, also a neighbor of Eyre and Stone, joined Governor Stone as a militia volunteer at the Battle of Severn River? After all, he married the widow of Thomas Eyre. William Eltonhead, the messenger from Lord Baltimore who was executed, was married to the widow of Captain Philip Taylor. Taylor had been actively involved in the establishment of Kent Island for William Claiborne and had been sheriff of Northampton County. Eltonhead's kinsman via marriage was Edwin Conway who also had been a Northampton resident before becoming secretary of Lancashire County. Eltonhead was also related via marriage to several other prominent Virginians like Colonel John Carter and Ralph Wormley.

Those six years in Maryland, 1655-1661, were very dark years as a period of persecution against both Catholics and Anglicans. The Puritans in "Providence" were now at the wheel, and after Oliver Cromwell died, there was hell to pay! Land was taken and records were destroyed leaving us with this interesting reminder about history—It always matters who is writing the history. But these wonderful old reports of events like the Battle of the Severn can reveal much about the events that shaped this nation through the political alliances formed by our ancestors, the first settlers.

Vaughn Baker is chair of the Nabb Research Center's Board of Directors.



THE FIRST ANNUAL

CHESTERTOWN TEA TIME HOUSE TOUR

(with a mystery)

Saturday, October 1, 2005 - 1 to 6 p.m.

Formerly The Candlelight Walking Tour
Complimentary Tea at Three Locations during the tour--plus a "Mystery House" or two.

The annual walking tour of Chestertown's historic homes provides visitors with a glimpse of how the town, founded in 1706, has preserved its colonial heritage. Today, Chestertown has grown from a bustling colonial port to Kent County's seat--a lively and charming 21st century small town.

Sponsored by the Historical Society of Kent County, tour proceeds benefit the restoration of its 1784 Geddes-Piper House.

For information contact:
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410-778-3499
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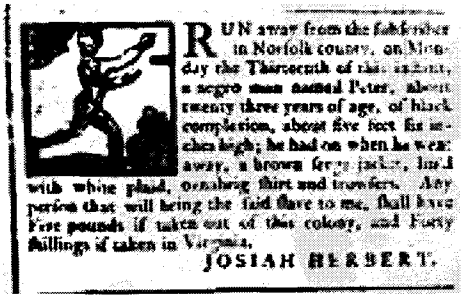
www.hskcmd.com hskcmd@friend.ly.net

Fugitive Slaves on the Eastern Shore Of Maryland

by Clara L. Small


RUN away from the subscriber in Norfolk county, on Monday the Thirteenth of this instant, a negro man named Peter, about twenty three years of age, of black complexion, about five feet six inches high; he had on when he went away, a brown frize jacket, lined with white plaid, ozenbrig shirt and trowsers. Any person that will bring the said slave to me, shall have five pounds if taken out of this colony, and Forty shillings if taken in Virginia.
JOSIAH HERBERT.

Slavery, "the peculiar institution," is appropriately named because it is one of the most controversial topics in American history. Slavery means so many things to so many people that it has left a devastating impact upon the lives of millions of Americans and everyone it has touched. It is a topic that will not be silenced, and even today, some of the most prominent attorneys, politicians and political activists are lobbying pro and con the issue of reparations for the victims of slavery, due to the oppressive nature and consequences of that onerous institution.

Slavery meant different things to different people. To the Africans who were involuntarily brought to America to be enslaved, slavery meant:

> ... the loss of their own language, their culture, and old kinship systems. The slaves ate what they were given, not what they wanted. They dressed in the clothes that were given them, not those they had known in the past. African women were removed from a stable social order which gave them a specific place and function, which protected them with a traditional morality–and indeed exploited them in a traditional way-and made commodities, unprotected by a traditional morality, without specific places and functions, sexually exploited by the master and even deprived of a full relationship with their children.

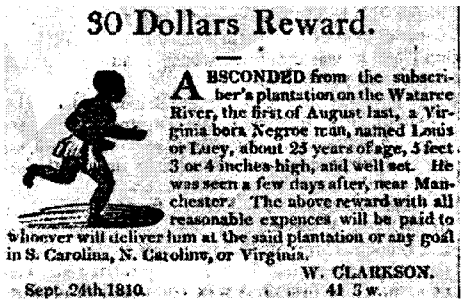
To some individuals, specifically to some slaveholders, slavery and the plantation system were not by any means a cruel and inhuman system, but: a school for slaves who were innate and inherited racial inferiority; that according to the Bible, Black slaves were the descendants of Hamm and therefore were forever relegated to be "drawers of water and hewers of wood" and subservient to their masters; that slaves were docile, but irresponsible, loyal but lazy, humble but chronically given to lying and stealing; his behavior ... full of infantile silliness and his talk inflated with childish exaggeration which turned them into Samboes and fostered paternalism; and that slaves were well cared for and received in service, cradle to the grave Social Security ... and received back, in necessities and even in a few luxuries, a full 90 percent of their productivity; and other theories to espouse the belief that slavery was not so bad. Regardless of the wording of the theory, the result is still the same–it is the idea of "Herrenvolk Democracy," as prescribed by the sociologist Pierre L. Van den Berghe. Herrenvolk democracy is the theory of the equal superiority of all who belong to the Herrenvolk (master race) over all who do not.

All of these theories rest on the premise that white men comprise the master race and that each white man is equal to every other white man. This theory also holds that the Negro race is inferior. The result is that some whites and some immigrants, no matter how poor they might be, no matter how educationally disadvantaged or intellectually challenged, they were still considered superior to blacks. Therefore, any movement toward the emancipation of slaves would have rendered their whiteness meaningless, or at least have relegated them to a secondary position. As a consequence, slavery became for many whites the foundation of liberty and equality.

In the 30 years prior to the Civil War, these were some of the prevailing views on slavery at the national level and were replicated on the state and local levels. The Eastern Shore of Maryland was no exception to these prevailing attitudes, as slavery varied from time and place and the cruelties associated with it depended upon the sensibilities of the individuals involved. But for various reasons the Eastern Shore was different from other areas even though Maryland was known as "the middle ground" or "temperate state," implying that Maryland was mild on slavery. If that were true, then why was Maryland and the Eastern Shore, specifically, the home of the most famous fugitives and conductors on the Underground Railroad?

The prevailing question is why was this area one of the major areas of the country which fostered resistance to slavery and has presented the best recorded instances of fugitive slaves, their owners and why they chose to escape? Some of the factors which made this area the prime source for the escape of slaves were:

- The presence of the Patty Cannon gang, which went onto plantations to steal slaves and later sold them to the Deep South. This gang also used subterfuge and guile to capture and sell free blacks to the Deep South and other areas.
- The Nat Turner revolt in 1831 which spread fear among whites and resulted in the tightening of controls over the lives of slaves and free blacks nationwide.
- That when the economy took a downturn and slaveholders found it increasingly difficult to make profits, they feared the loss of their lifestyles, and they tightened the restrictions upon their slaves.
- That slaves became more fearful of being sold south to settle their owners' debts and financial obligations. The result was the constant fear of being sold away from spouses, siblings, parents and other family members never to be seen or heard from again.
- As slaves were property, slaveholders could legally flog, abuse and even kill their slaves with no fear of reprisals simply because slaves had no rights or privileges sanctioned by the Constitution of the United States.
- If slaves were fortunate enough to gain their freedom by purchase or manumission, there was the threat of being re-enslaved if they did not leave the state immediately. For instance, the C.W. Jacobs Committee at the Constitutional Convention of 1850-1851 recommended the mandatory "registration of free blacks, obliging manumitted slaves to leave the state within 30 days, and forbidding blacks to acquire real estate or even lease it on terms longer than a year." The purpose of the Jacob Committee was to sever the ties between slaves and free blacks and to exclude free blacks from the protection of the Bill of Rights as well as to remove them as a threat to the institution of slavery. In effect, this committee's recommendation forced free blacks and slave relatives "to choose between preserving their freedom and preserving their families. Friendship, family ties and any other

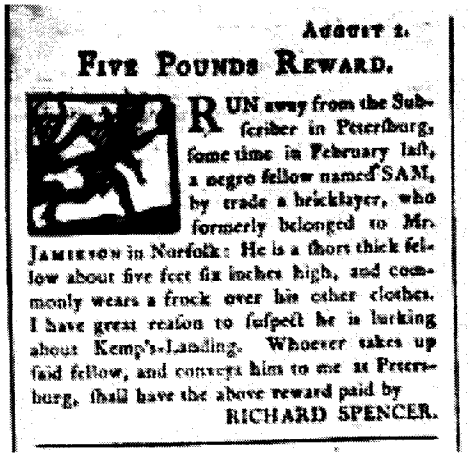

30 Dollars Reward.

ABSCONDED from the subscriber's plantation on the Wataree River, the first of August last, a Virginia born Negroe man, named Louis or Lucy, about 25 years of age, 5 feet 3 or 4 inches high, and well set. He was seen a few days after, near Manchester. The above reward with all reasonable expences will be paid to whoever will deliver him at the said plantation or any goal in S. Carolina, N. Carolina, or Virginia.
W. CLARKSON.
Sept. 24th, 1810. 41 3w.

ties were lost as many former slaves left their spouses, children, their families, meager accumulated properties, and left the state, while some former slaves worked to free their kin and in the process encouraged many of their slave kin to become fugitives from bondage.

- Slave marriages were temporary at best, which did not mean that slaves did not care for or have an emotional attachment to their spouses. Slaves were well aware that they could not expect to live to a ripe old age with their mates or to even have the right to defend or protect them. In many instances their mates were not of their own choosing, and when a master sold a mate away from another, the remaining mate was "encouraged" or even "coerced" to marry another, often for reasons of procreation, which translated to mean more profits.
- As slaves sought to escape and to control their lives, slaveholders attempted to put into place more restraints on their property. Those same slave holders on the Eastern Shore controlled 84 percent of Maryland's slaves even though only a fourth of Maryland's whites lived on the Shore. The median slaveholding in the state was one slave, but for the Eastern Shore it was between two and three. Yet, Eastern Shore slaveholders effectively controlled the balance of power in the state by influencing the Maryland legislature to protect their property. Some of those laws told Marylanders what they could and could not read and even required postmasters to open and read mail addressed to free blacks or slaves and to report the name of anyone who received copies of subversive antislavery newspapers by mail.
- In order to solidify their control over their slaves, Maryland slaveholders met in conventions in attempts to protect their property. They met in 1842 in Annapolis to discourage manumissions and met again in 1846 and 1857 in conventions in Centreville, in Cambridge, Worcester and Kent counties and later in Baltimore, and passed resolutions against the absconding of slaves to Canada and the North and denounced the Underground Railroad. Each time that the slaveholders met in convention the Maryland legislatures passed more stringent laws to protect the slavocracy of the state. These measures even tied the hands of slaveholders who may have wanted to manumit some of their slaves, some who were mulattoes and possibly their own children, or otherwise close kin. In 1860, the Maryland General Assembly passed a law to prohibit any slave owner from freeing his own slaves and offered "a bounty of $100 for every white man and $50 for every free black convicted of tampering with slaves"; l6 encouraged legal authorities to "break up woods meetings and all unlawful gatherings of slaves, free negroes" and to enforce "the patrol laws" to prohibit slaves from keeping "corn patches, of letting them leave home without passes, and of giving freedom to select homes for themselves." Legislation of this type effectively served as a warning to free blacks and abolitionists, the members and supporters of the Underground Railroad, and those who did not own slaves not to interfere with the property of the slaveholders.

While slaves, free blacks and abolitionists were taught to stand in fear of the slavocracy, as some slaves desired to be free or die and actively took steps to gain that freedom. The following are examples of fugitive slaves from the Eastern Shore who escaped to Philadelphia and were interviewed by William Still. Each of the following samples is of a randomly chosen slave, the



AUGUST 2.

FIVE POUNDS REWARD.

RUN away from the Subscriber in Petersburg, some time in February last, a negro fellow named SAM, by trade a bricklayer, who formerly belonged to Mr. JAMESON in Norfolk: He is a short thick fellow about five feet six inches high, and commonly wears a frock over his other clothes. I have great reason to suspect he is lurking about Kemp's-Landing. Whoever takes up said fellow, and conveys him to me at Petersburg, shall have the above reward paid by

RICHARD SPENCER.

identity of his or her owner, the location of the slaveholder's residence and the reason why they chose to escape:

- In November 1853, Perry Johnson, owned by Charles Johnson from Elkton, in Cecil County, escaped because he was constantly flogged and had an eye put out by his mistress.
- In 1856 Samuel Miles, alias Robert King, from Revels Neck in Somerset County, escaped but left his wife and son because he could not associate with them.
- On January 1, 1855, Peter Derrickson, who formerly labored on John Derrickson's farm along with 20 others in Berlin, Worcester County, escaped. Derrickson was said to be "a mild master," but Peter objected to working for Derrickson for nothing.
- In 1855 Joseph Cornish escaped from his master, Captain Samuel LeCount. Cornish was a highly respected preacher by the white and black population of Dorchester County. Cornish escaped due to the fear of being sold and separated from his free wife and five children.
- In 1855, Alexander Munson, alias Samuel Garrett, aged 18, from Chestertown, MD, escaped because he was not freed by the will of his owner because the executor of the estate did not regard this freedom clause of the will.
- In December 1855, Isaac Fidget, owned by Mrs. Fidget, from Berlin, MD, escaped from bondage. He spoke kindly of his owner, but he desired to be free, so he escaped to be his own person.
- In June 1857, Jane Davis, 60 or 70 years of age, and owned by Roger Mczant of the New Market District, escaped to freedom. McZant had sold four of Jane Davis's 12 children south and had beaten and ill used Jane. Upon hearing that she was to be sold for $100, she fled leaving her husband and remaining children behind.
- In 1860, Henry Cotton, owned by Nathaniel Dixon of Somerset County, escaped and lived in a swamp for 12 months. Cotton's old master had willed him his freedom, but his heirs had rendered the will null and void.

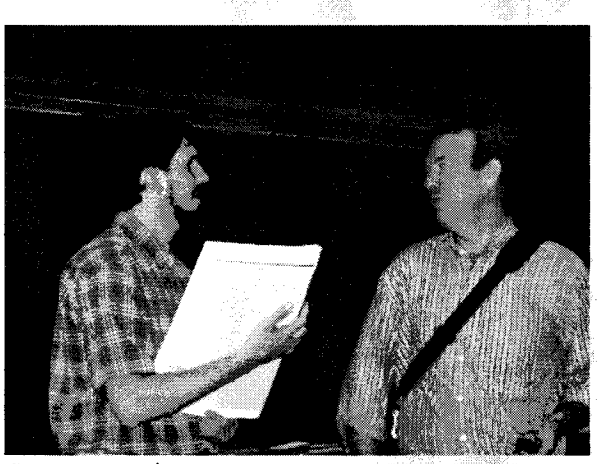
In each of the instances stated here, these fugitive slaves from the Eastern Shore of Maryland believed that they had valid reasons to flee their owners. Conversely, their masters believed that slavery was not by any means a cruel and inhumane system, that slaves were inherently inferior, and it was their right as owners to hold slaves in bondage. Regardless of those views held by the members of the slavocracy, the examples of the fugitive slaves listed above tell a different story. Those fugitive slaves refused to stand in fear of the power of the slaveholders, desired freedom and sought to achieve it at any cost. The number of fugitive slaves from the Eastern Shore is impossible to know because the slaves listed in William Still's book only list those interviewed by Still. What of those who escaped to cities and towns other than Philadelphia? What of those who were not interviewed by Still, who were too afraid to identify themselves as fugitives for fear of being recaptured and returned to slavery? What of those fugitives who escaped to Canada and how many were from the Eastern Shore of Maryland? What of those fugitives who assumed other identities and were able to lead relatively successful lives as free blacks? What of those mulattoes who were fair-skinned enough to pass into the white world never to be heard of again?

If the descriptions presented above are characteristics of the conditions of slavery that compelled so many slaves to escape from this mild, temperate state, then just how cruel and inhuman was slavery in other states? If the conditions in other states were the same or similar to that of Maryland, it would explain why so many slaves chose to live free or die in order to gain their freedom.

Clara L. Small is a Salisbury University history professor and member of the Nabb Research Center's Board of Directors.

Teaching American History: Year Two

by Richard Wilson



Drs. Lewis and Long

Whitehaven Hotel

The TAH was a great benefit to me. It is rare for me to have the time to investigate the multitude of resources that are available. Aside from improving my instruction, this is also a great time to exchange ideas and to work with colleagues from other schools. I wasn't sure I wanted to do this again this summer because it is a pretty intense eight days; but I am so glad I did!
- Seminar Participant, Summer 2005

This statement could have come from any of the 40 participants who attended the Summer 2005 Teaching American History (TAH) Institute II. Fabulous lecturers from Salisbury University professors, a collections identification session at the Nabb Research Center, oral history interviews throughout the county, a boat trip on the Wicomico River and riveting lectures by NPR's Juan Williams were just the highlights. It was indeed a "pretty intense eight days." The program for Year II of TAH was fashioned on the successful Year I program; that is, lectures in the mornings, lesson planning in the afternoons, oral histories whenever informants could be scheduled, a guest speaker in both the afternoon and evening, and a summary session where teachers could share their work with colleagues. The TAH Web site will have many new teacher products when they return from the summer.

Day 1 had three goals. First, teachers in Group A met at the Nabb Center for an orientation to the collections by Dr. Ray Thompson, assisted by Simone Myree, Nabb archivist, so that teachers would know what resources were available for use in their research. Second, these same teachers received training in interviewing techniques for their oral histories conducted by Lora Botenelli, a local folklorist at the Ward Museum. Third, while Group A was receiving this training at Nabb, Group B was on the Wicomico River receiving a lecture on the "built environment"–past present and future–by SU's Dr. Michael Lewis and Nabb volunteer Pat Taylor. At lunch time, the two groups switched.

I found the journey from Whitehaven to Salisbury via boat to be a great experience! As much as I've been on the river recreationally, I was unaware of the history that was up and down the Wicomico. Fascinating! I will be able to incorporate the trip's findings during the study of Colonial times in Maryland and the Middle Colonies.
- Seminar participant, Summer 2005

Day 2 focused on "material culture" and was taught by Dr. Jeanne Whitney and Thompson. Participants entered the Reading Room and were greeted by a display of artifacts ranging from cooking utensils to sewing materials to gadgets. Whitney's objective was to show participants how they could "define themselves" for others by using personal artifacts such as the ones they were seeing. Students could learn about the past from artifacts teachers might bring into their classroom. To get this concept across, Whitney grouped artifacts from Nabb's collections. She then asked participants to describe the artifacts they had and hypothesize what they reveal about the past. This proved to be great fun as well as informative about Nabb collections. Participants then discussed how smaller versions of this activity could be conducted in their classroom by having teachers create their own collections.

Having actual artifacts during the time period you are studying really helps the students learn hands-on. I am planning a lesson similar to Dr. Whitney's. Her's was a very captivating presentation.
- Seminar Participant, Summer 2005

Day 3 focused attention on Native Americans, with emphasis on the lower Eastern Shore. Dr. Melanie Perreault lectured on the early period and supported her lecture with maps, pictures and diagrams as well as other primary sources. She described the histories of the tribes on the Eastern Shore and how they became part of an overall larger picture of Indian removal in the eastern United States. Dr. Dean Kotlowski followed with a lecture on National Federal Policy, supporting his lecture with a Power Point presentation. Throughout, Kotlowski compared the treatment of Native Americans to how other minorities were treated in the 20th century. The Federal Acknowledgement Program was revealed as one of the federal government's on-going attempts to deal with the "Indian Problem."

This presentation was phenomenal. I can teach my students about the removal of the local Indians. I am now informed about the National Federal Policy toward all Native Americans with such a plethora of information that I am certain that I could plan a very fun set of lessons.
- Seminar Participant, Summer 2005

Day 4 was devoted to an analysis of how transportation changed Maryland's Eastern Shore during our early history up to the present day. Dr. Creston Long used the Lankford letters and the James Auld diary to illustrate the migration of peoples in the 18th century. This lecture connected transportation on a national level to the movement of peoples and transportation in the present day. Long identified adventure and economics as the two main factors that prompted migration while water connected most systems of transportation. Lewis followed with a lecture on the economics of the Delmarva region with an emphasis on Salisbury. Lewis' hypothesis is that the region has undergone profound changes over decades and nothing illustrates this better than the "duck-fish-crab-chicken" analogy. Ducks were hunted for commercial reasons before almost dying out only to return for

Drs. Thompson and Pereboom

Dr. Small

Dr. Kenneth Layfield, Juan Williams and Dr. Richard Wilson

recreational purposes. The rockfish almost died out only to return for recreational purposes–so too the crab and now the chicken industry. Lewis also provided maps that illustrate the growth of Salisbury supported by an analogy linking vertical integration of Rockefeller oil to the vertical integration of Perdue chicken.

The lectures on transportation were interesting and can be used in my class. Dr. Long's lecture from the journal entries, wills and inventories, all can be used in our classroom as a way to connect students to the past.
- Seminar Participant, Summer 2005

From Dr. Lewis' lecture I found the most exciting part to be about the chicken farms. I think that no matter where you teach this would be interesting and to teach kids a little about their area and how it has changed over time is relevant.
- Summer Participant, Summer 2005

Day 5 was devoted to Civil Rights. Dr. Clara Small lectured on the foundation of civil rights in the 19th century. After a short quiz, Small explained the status of slavery on the Eastern Shore before and after the Civil War. Her lecture was guided by a timeline that teachers can use to identify key points and personalities in the civil rights movement. The lecture made good use of last year's focus on the Underground Railroad. Small was followed by Kotlowski who lectured on two separate topics–lynchings and local school desegregation. The segment on lynchings was very graphic as Kotlowski found many visuals and first-hand account of the large number of lynchings in the 20th century. This coincided nicely with the Thurgood Marshall book that participants were reading.

I thought today's lecture was the most interesting of all the lectures. I know I was very surprised to hear about the lynchings on the Eastern Shore. I think students also would be surprised and interested to learn about them. The pictures will definitely stick in my mind.
- Seminar Participant, Summer 2005

Day 6 was a special day for program participants. Juan Williams, nationally known Fox television political analyst, NPR commentator and author of Eyes on the Prize came to Salisbury to lecture on his biography of Thurgood Marshall. In the afternoon, Williams talked with teachers about how he went about writing Eyes on the Prize and how he thought it could be used in classrooms. In the evening, Williams lectured to a spellbound crowd on Thurgood Marshall and his legacy.

Williams talked a little about his philosophy of writing–know your audience, write to that audience and tell a good story. He talked about how for many years he tried to get Marshall to grant an interview, but when all attempts failed, he wrote the book anyway. Later Marshall relented and Williams wrote a second edition using the new information from the Chief Justice. Williams' theme for the evening was that Marshall was as important or perhaps more so than Martin Luther King in the field of civil rights. This goes against public perception but Williams was convincing, using anecdote after anecdote to make his point.

I think the idea that Mr. Williams makes "his audience" the focus of his writing is extremely important. I will use this as I teach by trying to get students to feel as if they are a character being studied–creating the event from the perspective of an active member. Outstanding presentation.
- Seminar Participant, Summer 2005

Day 7 was devoted to foreign policy. Dr. Creston Long lectured on the colonial foreign policy during the Seven Year's War. This topic was of particular relevance because of the role played by Maryland. Long presented several good ideas for teachers to use in their seventh grade classrooms as well as a useful handout on the War of 1812. Dr. Maarten Pereboom initiated his lecture by showing international dolls from his wife's collection and used a Power Point presentation to explain the difference between foreign policy and foreign relations. Pereboom identified themes that could be used to organize the massive amount of content that teachers are faced with when they teach 20th century history. Both Long and Pereboom tied events on the Eastern Shore to the national scene.

Long's study of George Washington's mission to negotiate with France over settlements in the Ohio River Valley is an excellent way to incorporate the study of foreign policy into the overall picture and help students understand the main players in the French and Indian War.
- Seminar Participant, Summer 2005

Information that I gained today from Dr. Pereboom will be helpful to me in providing examples and explanations concerning foreign policy. This was very well done and from a different perspective than I have seen previously. The introduction comparing foreign relations to foreign policy and the global perspective were the most useful to me.
- Seminar Participant, Summer 2005

The final group activity was a "show and share" session where teachers could describe their lessons and oral history interviews. Teachers broke into groups by grade level and shared the lessons they had been working on throughout the institute. Lessons will be edited and then placed on the Web site so that they may be "borrowed" by others throughout the year.

Additional activities included a field trip to Washington, D.C., to visit the National Museum of the American Indian followed by a field trip on the same day to the Baltimore Museum of Industry and Technology. Half-day professional workshops are planned for October 24, 2005, February 21, 2006, and March 27, 2006. Organizers are planning a workshop for Grade 4 teachers and a virtual field trip to Pemberton. For more information please visit www.wcboe.org/tah/.

Dr. Richard Wilson is the program coordinator for the Teaching American History Grant.

Cellar House 2005
Nabb Fundraising Event

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Settlers of the Eastern Shore Evenlight at Cellar House

On the evening of May 21 over 150 friends of the Edward H. Nabb Research Center gathered under a beautifully cool and clear sky at Cellar House, Worcester County, MD, the 1730s home of Martha and Jack Graham, to drink mint juleps, eat fine food, have fun and raise in excess of $20,000 for the Center.

Many thanks go to the gracious hospitality of the Grahams, whose many years of hard work are clearly evident in the exquisite restoration and decoration of Cellar House.

The house is perfectly situated at the end of a long driveway, against the backdrop of the Pocomoke River. To this setting the Grahams have added their whimsical collection of outdoor sculpture and tasteful landscaping so that the view in any direction is captivating. Guests were invited to venture to the attic where a trap door in the roof had been opened to allow an extra special view of all the outdoor beauty.

Party goers from the Salisbury University Foundation Board, the SU faculty and the greater Lower Shore community were treated to a short talk by Professor Michael Scott describing his research into the travels of Captain John Smith who explored the Pocomoke River while searching for fresh drinking water. Captain Smith described how he obtained three kegs of water "that were more precious than gold."

A large tent sponsored by the mayor and council of Pocomoke City sheltered tables for eating, conversation and two auctions. A silent auction with unique art, decorative objects, meals, vacations and personal services was followed by a live auction featuring very special furniture, art and sculpture. Good bargains were mixed with prices that were justified by the good cause.

This year's event, co-chaired by Richard Carter, Sarah Showell and Andrea Ullrich, was the third such event supported by the board of the Nabb Research Center and the Nabb Research Center staff. Previous parties were held at Clifton, the Somerset County home of SU Foundation and Nabb Research Center Board member Kathryn Niskanen and husband Bill.

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Gail Walczyk

African-American Photographs Discussed

In honor of African-American History Month the Nabb Research Center and SU's Department of History sponsor special guest speaker Ross J. Kelbaugh, 3:30 p.m. Thursday, February 23, 2006, in SU's Great Hall of Holloway Hall. The topic of this event is primarily the subject of his latest work, *Introduction to African-American Photographs, 1840-1950: Identification, Research, Care and Collecting*, published May 2005.

Kelbaugh's interest in the Civil War and early photography began while he was still in elementary school at the beginning of the Civil War centennial celebrations in the early 1960s. He soon acquired his first photographs of Union and Confederate soldiers as part of his general collecting of relics from the conflict. So passionate was he about collecting that he often skipped eating at school so he could save his weekly lunch money allowance for acquisitions. After graduation from college, Kelbaugh broadened his focus to include 19th and early 20th century American photographs as part of his vintage Maryland photographs and related material in the state. This interest has also laid the foundation for his life-long involvement with historical artifacts and the mission of furthering their use in public education.

Kelbaugh's books include the *Directory of Maryland Photographers, 1839-1900*, the first reference work ever published on this state's photographic industry; *Introduction to Civil War Photography* now in its seventh printing; and the multi-volume series *Directory of Civil War Photographers*.

This program is made possible through a grant by Nabb members Niel and Helen Carey of Ellicott City, MD.

For more information please contact the Nabb Center at rcdhac@salisbury.edu or call 410-543-6312.

Second Annual Bozman Reunion

The annual reunion for all Bozmans/Bosmans who have ties to the Eastern Shore is Saturday, October 15. The gathering is held for all descendants of one of the earliest settlers of Somerset County, William Bosman (c. 1623-1664), who patented 1,200 acres of "More and Case It" in 1662 on the banks of the Manokin River.

Participants are encouraged to bring old photos and family information. The festivities will begin at noon at Walker Memorial Church of God, 11429 Hayman Drive, Princess Anne, MD. A lunch will be available at 12:30 p.m. and may be purchased for $8.

For those planning to attend from outside the area, you can easily get driving directions by going to mapquest.com and typing in your home address and the church's address.

For further information about the reunion, please contact Fred Howard at 619-665-7484 or fredericklhoward@yahoo.com, or Hazel Turkington at 410-546-2725 or wdt@copper.net .

Coinciding with this reunion weekend is the annual Olde Princess Anne Days. Visit Somerset County and enjoy both the Bozman reunion and OPAD. For further information about OPAD, please visit www.teackle.mansion.museum or call Somerset County Tourism at 1-800-521-9189.

Poplar Hill Mansion Antiques Appraisal Fair

Poplar Hill Mansion, celebrating its bicentennial year, will host a two-part Antiques Appraisal Fair on Saturday, September 24. The fair is divided into two sessions.

Session I, 10 a.m.-noon, is open to items of art, silver, porcelain, glass, jewelry, American currency, and furniture or rugs that can be easily carried. Larger items will be appraised by photograph only. Please do not bring books, decoys, armor, large furniture and other similar unmanageable items. Session I appraisals will be done by the Weschler Auction House of Washington, D.C.

Session II, 1-4 p.m., is open to antique toys, dolls and collectibles only and will feature appraisers Cecilia Bobo and Donna DanEssendelft.

For either session, the cost of admission is $5 per item with a five item limit. Advance ticket reservations are strongly encouraged by calling 410-749-1776. Individuals who do not have reservations will be able to purchase tickets at the door on a space-available, first-come, first-served basis.

All proceeds benefit Friends of Poplar Hill Mansion. Light refreshments will be served.

New Genealogy Acquisition

A recent acquisition to Nabb Center's genealogy books is *Amongst Ye Come* by Joan Elliott Dunn. It includes an ancestor chart, photos of forebears and numerous mini-biographies of many of the "characters" (every family has its own) in her lineage. It will be of help to researchers looking for Delaware families as well as Maryland.

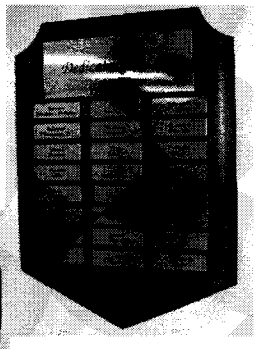
Dunn is a Nabb Center member, Delaware resident and co-author of *Samuel B. Elliot and Descendants.*

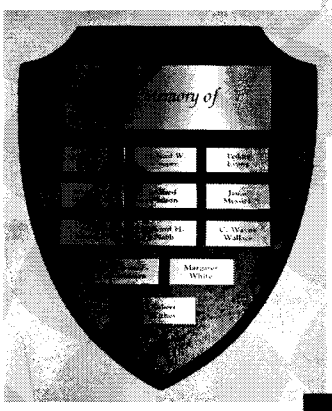
Joan E. Dunn and her newest work, Amongst Ye Come, *compiled in 2004 and donated to the Nabb Center.*

New Plaques Decorate the Reading Room

In recognition of the Nabb Research Center's life-time members and the cash memorials donated on behalf of those departed, the Center has acquired two plaques to commemorate their great support for the Nabb Research Center. Upon your next visit please take a minute and view these new additions to our Reading Room and acknowledge the names of those who have gone to exceptional lengths to assist the Nabb Research Center in the continued quest for excellence.

If you are interested in becoming a life-time member or if you would like to have memoria donated on behalf of a lost loved one, please contact the Nabb Research Center at rcdhac@salisbury.edu or call at 410-543-6312.





Native American Lecture

The Nabb Research Center presents the Washburn Distinguished Lecture in American History given by Dr. Helen Rountree 7 p.m. Wednesday, November 9, in SU's Worcester Room of the Commons. The lecture will be on Eastern Shore Native peoples incorporating recent research which illustrates how ingenious the Native Americans were at using the natural bounty of the land and waters of the region.

The lecture is free, open to the public and a reception will follow. For more information please contact the Center at 410-543-6312 or e-mail at rcdhac@salisbury.edu.

Time Keeps on Ticking

The Nabb Research Center thanks board member Dr. Harry Holcomb III for his help in soliciting Robinson's Jewelry & Clock Store for their expert assistance in restoring our beautiful late 19th century hanging jeweler's regulator clock that decorates the Center's Reading Room. The clock was donated by Dr. Patricia Griffin Emerson of Atlanta, GA, and we gratefully accepted the honor of being the new home for this antique time piece. The clock once hung for many years in the jewelry shop owned by the donor's grandfather, Clarence Elwood Caulk of Sharptown, MD, at the turn of the century.

The clock was made c.1890 at the Waterbury Clock Company and has for identification purposes a model name and number of "Regulator No. 60." What is most impressive is that this century-old and beautifully constructed clock was brought back to life thanks to the donation of both time and skill that Robinson's Jewelry & Clock Store has given to the Nabb Research Center.

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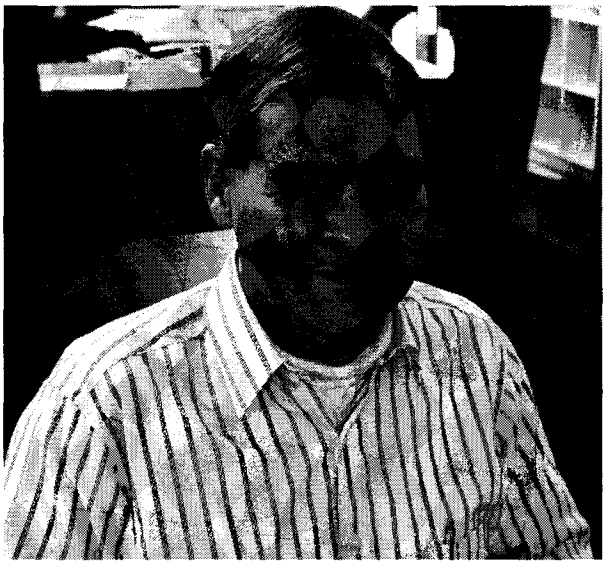
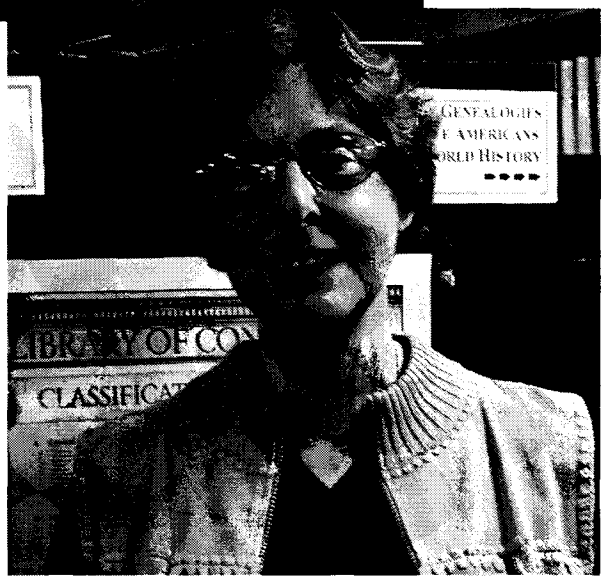


Bill Collison, often at the Center, is a volunteer who is always helpful working the second Monday night of each month to enable patrons, visitors and students to research after 5 p.m.

Fay Brooks volunteers at the Nabb Center where she answers queries and has recently spent many hours transcribing pages from the Leslie Dryden Collection of family genealogy.

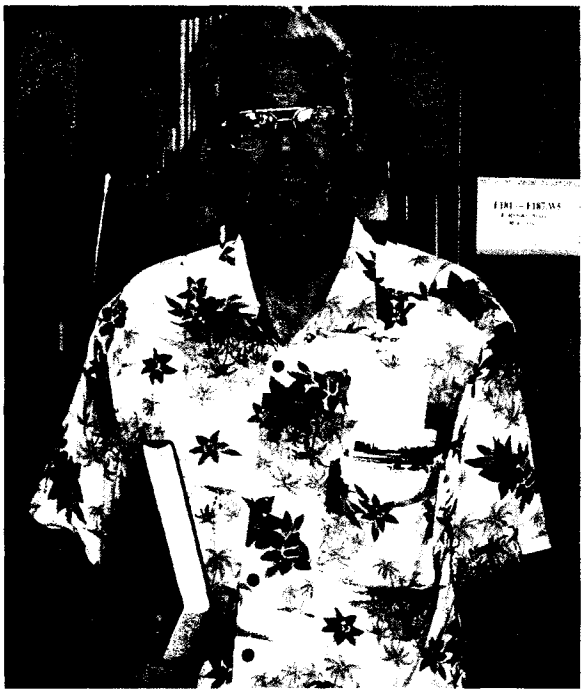
Pat Taylor is a board member, volunteer and volunteer coordinator at the Nabb Center. She organizes the volunteers for the Center and works the third Monday night of each month to keep the Reading Room open after 5 p.m. Pat can always be found busily helping patrons, visitors and students. Pictured are Pat Taylor and a participant of the Maryland Summer Center for Gifted and Talented Students.



Jane West is a Salisbury alum and retired school teacher who has been working on an obituary project database for the Nabb Center. She resides in La Plata, MD, with her husband, John.

Jim Trader is a volunteer and local historian who volunteers his time on the first Monday of the month to help fellow researchers and is always willing to lend a helping hand. Carolyn Ballou is a volunteer and research assistant at the Nabb Center where she assists with various tasks, including genealogy, scanning and helping the Center by working the front desk the fourth Monday of each month—often with her husband, Joe.

Lenore Huffer, Nabb Board member, a retired principal and teacher from Worcester County, volunteers at the Nabb Center to assist others in their research. Polly Batchelder is a volunteer and retired editor. She is currently working on compiling the notes on the Long family from the Matthew Wise Collection into a reference book for future researchers.



Chuck Dennis is a volunteer at the Nabb Center where he specializes in scanning.

Thank You Volunteers!

The Nabb Center is forever indebted to its gracious volunteers, who give their time and energy to assist the Center in its pursuit to make local historical materials available to the Delmarva community, Salisbury University students and the world.

Volunteers Needed

Additional volunteers are always needed to help the Nabb Center accomplish its many tasks. We are now seeking volunteers who are willing to scan archival materials for future use at the Center. We prefer that one person scan a ledger or a collection of items for consistency's sake. However, any amount of help is appreciated, from an hour or two per day to an hour or two total! Envelope stuffing and newsletter folding are ideal tasks for those with minimal time to donate. Anyone interested may contact Pat Taylor, volunteer coordinator, at 410-543-6312 or rcdhac@salisbury.edu.

September Wish List

Pioneers of Monocracy: The Early Settlement of Frederick County, Maryland 1721-1743
Grace L. Tracey & John P. Dern, $39.50

Abstract of Early Kentucky Wills and Inventories Copied from Original and Recorded Wills and Inventories
Junie Estelle & Stewart King, $29.50

Later Scots-Irish Links 1725-1825 Part One
Later Scots-Irish Links 1725-1825 Part Two
David Dobson, $14.95 and $12.50

Irish Emigrants in North America Part One, Part Two and Part Three 1775-1825
Irish Emigrants in North America Part Four and Part Five 1775-1825
Irish Emigrants in North America Part Six 1670-1830
David Dobson, $13.50, $14, $16.50

The Virginia Company of London, 1606-1624
Wesley Frank Craven, $10.95

Transatlantic Voyages 1600-1699
David Dobson, $12.50

Calendar of Warrants for Land in Kentucky, Granted for Service in the French and Indian War
Phillip Fall Taylor, $13.50

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